> 133 At this time each of the creeks was at its height; they are deep and rapid, and four of them much wider than Tulé river.[15]

The condition of the country between the territory of the Wukchumni and Gawia on the [312 Kaweah River and that of the tribes on Kings River was much as it is now (save for oases of 311] agriculture made possible by modern irrigation), and the region seems to have been without native villages, the area probably being used only for hunting and seed-gathering.

On the 15th and 16th of May, Derby's party completed the crossing of the Kaweah sloughs (the "four creeks"), left the Cowees (Gawia) on the 17th and headed for Kings River.

> [134] ... our course lay over a barren sandy plain, interspersed here and there with spots of vegetation, but in general a perfect contrast to the rich soil upon the river Francis [the Kaweah]. About 6 miles from the fifth creek we observed four isolated hills or buttes about six hundred feet high, two of them ranging nearly north and south, and about two miles apart. At the first of these is a constant spring of water....We arrived upon the banks of the Kings River at about 5 P.M., having travelled 23.66 miles in a direct line across the plains.[16]

After a day spent on Kings River, probably at about the present site of Centerville, having ridden up the north bank about fifteen miles and having talked with one or two white men established at the ferry, Derby wrote as follows.

> The Kings River is the largest stream in the valley, at this time of spring floods about three hundred yards wide, with a rapid current and water cold as ice. It is about sixty miles in length, rising in two branches high up in the Sierra, which uniting about forty miles from its mouth flow in a southwest direction through the hills and valley, and empty into the Taché [Tulare] lake at its northeast extremity. Its banks are high and well timbered, and the country in its immediate vicinity is apparently fertile. It forms five sloughs like the Francis, but they are much wider and the country between them is swampy and difficult of access. There are no less than seventeen [161 rancherías of Indians upon this river, number- ● 36] ing in all probably about three thousand, including those situated among the hills of the [648] vicinity. Of these those living upon the low- [181] er part of the river are friendly and well disposed toward the whites; those high up among the hills are entirely ignorant, treacherous and mischievous I was informed by Colonel Hampton, at the upper ferry, that the Cho-e-minee [Choinimni] rancheria, situated in his

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[15] Ibid., 257.

[16] Ibid., 258-260.

> 133 stage, the back water from the river had filled the innumerable sloughs extending from its banks in every direction across the valley, and I was informed...that the whole country to the north was overflown...The point at which we encamped at the southern bend was about ten feet above the level of the stream and for two miles in extent north and south was not overflown... At this time the river at this point was about two hundred yards wide and from ten to twenty feet in depth, but during the dry season it falls to from four to two and a half feet.[20]

On the 26th, Derby and party started southward on the west side of the San Joaquin River and Sanjon de San José, skirting the western edge of Tulare Lake, bringing them again into Tachi Indian country, for they were near to completing their circuit of the great valley floor.

> At a distance of twenty-two miles from the San Joaquin, we crossed the dry bed of a stream flowing during the rainy season from the Coast Range to the lake, upon the bank of which we found a few cottonwood trees and a little grass; but with this exception the whole valley south of the bend, between the Coast Range and the Taché [Tulare] lake, we found miserable, barren, sandy desert, with no vegetation save a few straggling artemesias, and no inhabitants but attenuated rabbits and gophers.
>
> We encamped upon a slough connecting with the Sanjon upon the 28th...We encamped upon the shores of the lake on the 29th, having made 17.32 miles and on the 30th reached the [161 débouche of the Pass of San Miguel...passing en 361] route the rancheria of the Tinta Taches, situated upon the northwest extremity of the lake and containing about two hundred and fifty or three hundred inhabitants...We took up our line of march for Monterey by the same route that we had passed in coming out, upon the 31st, and arrived there without incident.[21]

Such was the San Joaquin Valley before American agricultural projects diverted, distributed, or absorbed the waters which filled the central basin to form the lakes and sloughs

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[20] Ibid., 261.

[21] Ibid., 262.

439 south of the mountains (the Coast Range). The
Tokya ate the fish from the shells and traded
436 these to their inland neighbors. Usually the
buyer made them up into money: this was what
the Wowol did. The Tachi went to Wolasi
villages to trade with the Wowol, but no
farther south, as Yi´nɛl was the most southern
Tachi village. The Tachi, Wolasi, and Chunut
traded seed foods in exchange.

439 The Telamni came out to the Wolasi to
visit but not to trade (sic). They, the
574 Wechihit, Wolasi, and Chunut came to Tachi
mourning ceremonies at Tɛlwe´y‹t. The Gawia
did not ever visit so far west.

● 361 The large Tachi village called Tɛlwey‹t
was on the edge of the lake south of the
115 present town of Lemoore. An important chief
there was Luču´ši. The informant M.G. was born
there; after her marriage she moved "a little
east up the river [Kings?] to a village called
Gaiwɔ´šyu. The barren area west of Tulare Lake
which extended as far as the Coast Range and
was roamed over by Tachi was called Utju´i.
(Kroeber places a village, Udjiu, in this area.)
There was a pond near Loston Hills.

578 The Chunut informant, J.A., gives a differ-
ent picture of Tachi relations, but her less
361 intimate view of the situation makes it seem
unreliable. She states that the Tachi, Wowol,
and Chunut fought frequently, with the Tachi
and Nutunutu as allies against the combined
Chunut and Wowol. Tɛlwey‹t, a Tachi village,
was at Summit Lake. At Woko´n were a series of
camps among which the Tachi moved, especially
when one camp had been visited by death. J.A.
named Hono´tan (to stop suddenly) and Či´yi
(bones) as two important Nutunutu villages,
both near Kingston. Čiyi is undoubtedly
Kroeber's Chiau. A chief there was Oli´k‹s,
nicknamed Nai'nai´'i'‹s (Squint-eye) because
he was cross-eyed. The Nutunutu was a very
large tribe, J.A. said.

101 The Chunut on Tulare Lake had Tachi and
Nutunutu neighbors toward the north. Their
131 land extended eastward almost to the present
site of Tulare (city), east of which dwelt the
Wolasi. The main Chunut rancheria, which J.A.
pronounces pi´sras, a pronunciation I believe
is a corruption of "Pierce's Ranch," was near
Farmersville, which she claimed was Chunut
territory (čunu´tači pa'an). Near Tulare (city)
101 was a bottomless pond called mike´y‹t; things
484 which fell in were never recovered. The Chunut
frequently walked over to the ocean across the
131 mountains to the west, provided relations were

[P. 9a] Tubatulabal NS22

Y 101 131 friendly with the intervening Tachi (and, presumably, Salinan).

[484] Wowol territory was somewhat west and elsewhere south of the Chunut. One important village was called Yiwɔ´ni. An island in Y ● [361] Tulare Lake belonged to the Wowol; it was called witi'tsolo´wɩn. On it was a village which J.A. and her mother visited by means of balsas. They had a relative there. On the Y [164] island was a tremendous number of bleaching bones which J.A. says were those of humans who had died of smallpox.[25] The visit was probably made between 1860 and 1870; it was "before the big earthquake."

South of Bakersfield lived people who "had a lake in the middle of their mountain. It dried in the summer." (This may be Castac Lake, possibly a small lake near present Tehachapi.) This tribe was called tipe´kɩl yoko´č (red clay people) "because they lived in houses plastered with red clay, with tule roofs which were covered with mud." The people who live there now are called Tejon (whether this was Fort Tejon or Tejon Ranch some distance to the east, J.A. could not determine; probably the former, which is near Castac Lake).

Y [439] The Tokya (Chumash and Salinan) lived "on the coast"; the Salinan of Chulame were called Tokya also. Various types of shell money were got from them. J.A. had not heard of Mutulu (a coast Indian raider mentioned by Wobonuch informants) or other individuals from the coast, and believed that the valley people went out to do their trading rather than that coast people came in. She, too, says that the bought shells were worked into money by the Yokuts purchasers.

At Ventura lived the Ititu´wɩt, but J.A. does not know whether this was the Yokuts name for these people, or what they called themselves.

T [141] The Kawe´sa (Kawaiisu) lived east of Tejon, toward the hills "and talked something like the Monachi." They were noted for their large bows and arrows.

T 101 131 The Ričiki´tu (Pitanisha) lived at Whiskey Flat "over back of Kern River." At another time J.A. said Ričikitu was "the Mexican name for the Pitani´sa who lived at Pita´nɩn, where there was a deep little river."

Y

Localities

103 131 The following sites are located on Local Map A (map 2). Places known to be villages are marked with a dot and circle.

1. mu´sahau: a Wechihit village
2. wewa´yo: a Wechihit village
3. wo´hui

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[25] Powers mentions a "plague" which took many lives in the Fresno River region a few years before his visit (Tribes of California, 380).

TULAMNI

177 114 A unique though brief account of native culture in the extreme south of the San Joaquin Valley is preserved in the records of Pedro Fages, soldier, explorer, and eventually governor in Spanish California.[120] He was the first European known to have entered the San Joaquin Valley officially when, in the fall of 1772, he crossed the head of the valley from Grapevine Cañon westward toward San Luis Obispo. Although no tribal names are mentioned in Fages' account, on the basis of his routing we may assume that his descriptions derive from the Tulamni and perhaps the Hometwali and Yauelmani. The following notes are a condensation of his account.

291 301 Dress.--Men wore a cloak which reached to the waist; some cloaks were made of grouse skins. They bound their hair with strings of beads into which such articles as the antelope-horn tobacco container might be thrust. That men "smeared their heads in the form of the cross ... with white mud," may mean that a mud helmet like that of the Mohave was in vogue, or it may refer to a mere mark. To the chiefs Fages attributes "cloaks adorned with feathers" and "a great coiffure of false hair folded back upon their own." One suspects a misinterpretation of office here: they were probably ceremonial figures, but because of their elaborate dress were thought to be chiefs. The women dressed like those of San Luis Obispo,[121] which probably means they wore deerskin aprons as well as grass ones. Their hair [854] was banged (toupé) and braided. Babies were wrapped in pelican skins.

342 Houses.--Dwellings were arranged "like a chain" (in rows) with storehouses for food and implements in front of each. But Fages states it somewhat differently in his diary of 1772:

> [361] All this plain is very thickly settled with many and large villages....In their

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[120] See Bolton, In the San Joaquin ahead of Garcés; Fages, a, 72-76.

[121] Fages, 49.

[P. 49 d] Tulamni

TULAMNI

342 villages the natives live in the winter in very
large squares, the families divided from each
361 other, and outside they have very large houses
in the form of hemispheres where they keep
their seeds and utensils.

412 *Utensils*.--A metatelike stone mortar,
"jars of the same material" (probably steatite
vessels), and pattern baskets are mentioned.
Skins were used for bedding.

Foods.--Pages speaks at length of the
262 animal and vegetable foods available, and, like
136 all early travelers in the region, dwells on
their abundance. Of water birds he mentions
white, black, and brown geese, ducks, cranes,
and white pelicans. He remarks on grouse,
"multitudes of quail ... more savory than those
of Spain," and many small birds such as
[231] swallows and larks. Eagles measuring "fifteen
spans from tip to tip" were seen; eaglets were
raised and domesticated but were not eaten. Of
land animals, wild sheep, antelope, elk, and
deer abounded, and "across the river" [in the
Sierra Nevada foothills on the east side of the
valley ?] were "buffaloes [*sic*], bears, wild-
cats, wolves [*sic*], coyotes, ferrets and foxes";
in the Santa Lucía range there were panthers
[cougar ?].

Of fish there was "an abundance of all species." Seals and otters occurred "as far as one hundred and fifty leagues [*sic*] upstream in the Rio de San Francisco [San Joaquin River and sloughs]."

262 Several familiar vegetable foods are men-
tioned. Three varieties of oak produced acorns,
137 which were prepared by the usual processes of
drying, grinding, and leaching. Soaproot, used
for washing, was also eaten roasted, as were
other tuberous roots and bulbs. Cattail roots
were made into flour, and the blossoms into a
yellow bread. We can guess that manzanita
cider is meant by the "very refreshing drink,
somewhat acid" made by soaking the pulp of the
fruit of a certain shrub in water. Reeds were
dried so that the crystallized juice [*sic*]

[P. 56b] Wukchumni

439 Yokuts baskets in exchange. There was an undercurrent of hostility between the Monachi and
648 the Yokuts and these traders were often accompanied by Waksachi or Patwisha as an assurance of cordial reception. They never went farther west than to the Gawia and Yokod, and four days to a week would be the extent of their stay. Women as well as men came on these trading trips, and occasionally one would stay the winter, acquire a man if she could, but return to the eastern side of the mountains the following year.[139] The Wukchumni and other foothill Yokuts did not go across the Sierra Nevada to trade. After the intrusion of white settlers the eastern side of the mountains was used as a refuge by Yokuts in flight from white persecution.

101 The Western Mono tribes northeast of the Waksachi, the Entimbich and Wobonuch, were merely called "easterners" or "uplanders" (nuta´) by the Wukchumni, while the Wechihit, Choinimni, and others on Kings River were called "northerners" (hoisa´'ima). All tribes south of the Yaudanchi, i.e., at Tule River and southward, were called "southerners" (humtɨ´nɨn).

Wukchumni Villages

124 I was not able to secure anything comparable to a census for any Wukchumni village, as only a remnant population was left even in the childhood of my informants. Certain families and persons are well remembered and repeatedly referred to by all informants. Such data as I have follow. That given by J.B. may serve as an example of all such seed-gathering expeditions.

361 There were three major Wukchumni settlements: Diapnuša, Gutsnumi, and Hoganu, in order of their respective importance (Local Map B, nos. 33, 19, and 29). . The most prominent chief about 1870-1890 was Muṭo´ñi,[140] who had
622 headquarters at Diapnuša, but who had a ménage at Hoganu where his son Bise´ti and daughter Wa´ohat were born and raised. One of the winatums at Diapnuša was Po´koi, J.B.'s father. When late spring (ko´toi tiša´myu) came, people thought of going to gather seeds. This would be about May after the Snake Ritual had been
221 held. The chief decided when to move; he would
166 call Pokoi and tell him to announce the moving.[141]
621 It was not necessary that all families go at exactly the same time, nor did they have to wait until the chief himself set out. But all

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[186
837] [139] While M.L. spoke scornfully of these lingerers, she denied that they were prostitutes. Casual cohabitation was a commonplace of Yokuts culture: men came and went, enjoying temporary domesticity.

[140] Consistently pronounced matsu´ñi by J.B.

[141] In two myths recorded by Dr. Newman a description of this seed-gathering move serves as a prologue (cf., Gayton and Newman, 1, 89).

[P. 57 b] Wukchumni

It is to be noted that the infamous shaman
756 Watisti and his mother were among those at
Šiyedu. J.B. said "they danced the kam
[watiyod] there whenever they wanted to make
[535] money or the tia'a asked them to." Bill Gar-
field sang for them. (See "Pleasure Dances"
for an account of this entertainment.) No
other dance or ritual was ever given at summer
camps. J.B. said that they all returned to
Diapnuša for the big mourning ceremony, that
there visitors could be accommodated and the
location was secluded from encroaching whites.
[177] Even in J.B.'s time at Šiyedu "there was no
place to pasture horses; all the land was taken
up by whites."

Of the village of Hoganu, J.B. could re-
621 call only three families. The chief there was
Bise´ti, who was Muṭoñi's son by a woman named
542 Uyu´tskulu. He later married M.L. but the
couple continued to live with Biseti's mother
because "his father had gone to live with an-
other woman." In another house lived an old
man named Ču and his Wukchumni-Patwisha wife,
Šu´pač.

A daughter of Mutoñi, Lottie, by yet an-
other woman (a Waksachi and half-sister of
B.O.; she had eagle poša like Muṭoñi) also
lived at Hoganu. L. said that another named
Gaču´na was a contemporary chief with Muṭoñi.
The winatum at Hoganu was a Gawia named Wa´lai;
his wife too was a winatum, a Yaudanchi named
O´mo. L. said they had no children "because
Omo ate too much meat." (L. herself moved up
to Dunlap when she married an Entimbich; her
second husband was a Pitanisha [Tübatulabal].)

In Antelope Valley lived a chief named
Sodo´nto, who married J.P.'s grandmother. An-
other chief, Ke´wɨč (John Davis) lived there,
and in a third house were relatives of Jim
Wilcox. This little hamlet was called Wo´kano.
Later Walai moved out there; and this chief
Sodonto may indeed be the chief Sodono who pre-
viously lived at Diapnuša.

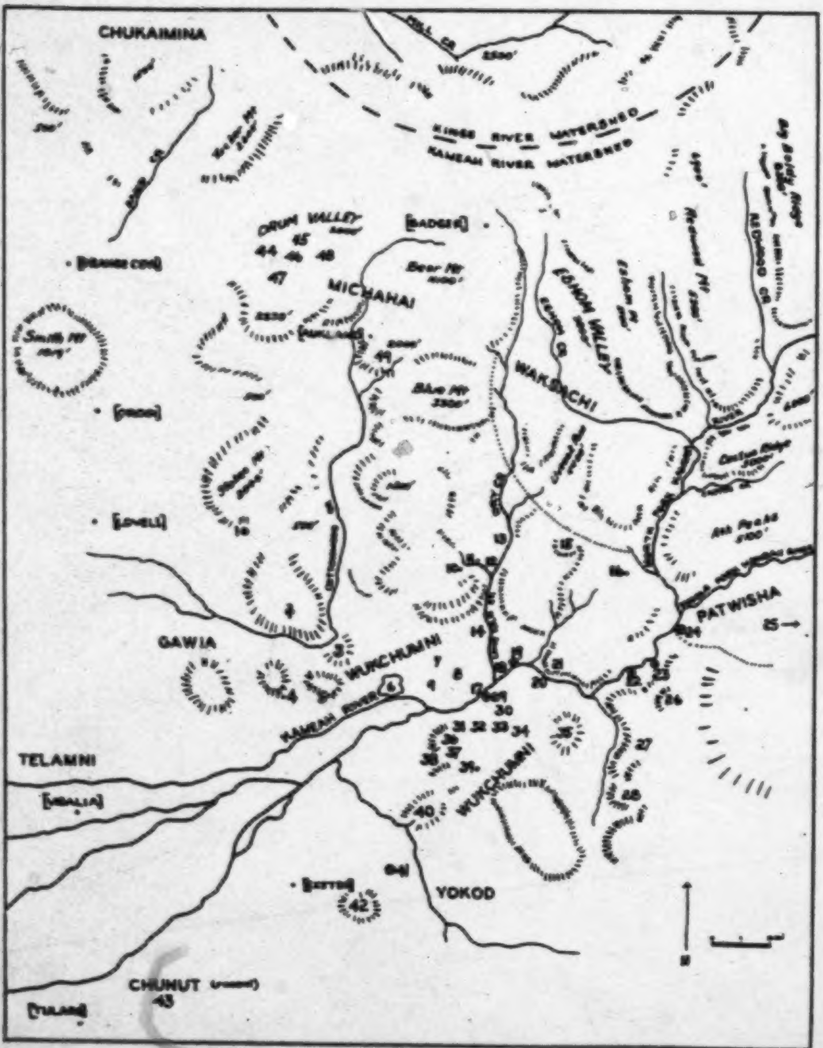
At Gutsnumi M.L.'s mother, mother's sister,
female parallel cousin (called elder sister),
her older brother, and her maternal grandmother
all lived in one house. When her father was
alive, her parents, brother, and self lived in
a house of their own. Her father's mother,
father's brother, and father's sisters all
[361] lived at Gutsnumi too, in various establish-
ments. M.L. said that often "uncles, brothers,
or cousins, would build their houses close to-
gether." M.L. said that they lived at Gutsnumi
166 during the winter, but in summer went on seed-
gathering trips towards the plains. They would
222 stop at Hoganu and Yokol. "Families did not
have special places to hunt food, anyone went
423 with anyone else just as they wished." [A
slight exaggeration; M.L. herself said that
women quarreled over their claims to berry and
seed patches.] The Gawia did not care if the
Wukchumni came down for seeds, and they would
go up Wukchumni way for other kinds of seeds

[text continues on p. 59a]

[P. 58]

Wukchumni

131
133
● 361
103


CHUKAIMINA
KINGS RIVER WATERSHED
KAWEAH RIVER WATERSHED
DRUM VALLEY
[BADGER]
44 45 46 48 47
MICHAHAI
Bear Mt
Smith Mt
Blue Mt
49
WAKSACHI
EDMON VALLEY
Redwood Mt
REDWOOD CR
Ash Peaks
PATWISHA
25 →
GAWIA
WUKCHUMNI
KAWEAH RIVER
6
30
31 32 33 34
35
27
28
40
TELAMNI
[VISALIA]
WUKCHUMNI
YOKOD
42
CHUNUT
43
[TULARE]

Map 3. Local Map B: Wukchumni and neighboring territory

[P. 126 b] Wukchumni

175
769 I counted 437 able-bodied young men on the walk I took [around the village], and about
161 600 women and children all placed before this village. Across the front of the ranchería I
● [361] counted 358 double paces [pasos dobles] which makes 624 yards [varas], and across its back 432 paces or 756 yards in the form of an im-
[342] perfect half moon. All [the houses] are of mats and willow branches. In front of the ranchería were guests, all separated, where I directed myself along with the captains who accompanied me. Each of them were in little groups; thus men, women, and children were presented to me, and it was not possible to count them as I had done with the Chischas. However, the number of young men was not less than 600, and some 200 younger women.

When I walked behind the Ranchería of Chischa I immediately came upon the arroyo
[561] which was near by. On its banks, I found more than 100 middle-aged women washing seeds for
[252] the atoles of the guests, while younger ones were grinding seeds on stones as is their custom .... Its [Chischa] people, and those of their neighboring friends who were found assembled, presented in number some 2400 persons, all of comely appearance.

Some two hundred more he discovered in hiding, and later over one hundred visitors came from another rancheria.

175 The visitors brought with them their own
769 mats and blankets, shinny sticks, and gambling
574 equipment. Games and gambling were frowned upon at the site of the ceremony, but during
525 the week of the ceremony men who wanted to play shinny might do so if they went beyond shouting distance from the assembly.

Ritual Weeping; Effigy-Making

769 Events during the six days of the ceremony followed a definite program. Since the
177 introduction of European culture, and perhaps owing to early Spanish-Catholic influence, the period has been equated with weekdays so that the night of crying fell on Saturday night, the washing, feasting, and aftermath of celebration on Sunday. The plan of events was this: the
[532] first day or two (Monday and Tuesday) guests began arriving, and the bereaved families spent their time making the effigy dolls; on the third or fourth day (Wednesday or Thursday) the Huhuna Dance was performed -- on the third if a minor or "warming-up" contest of shamans was to be given on the fourth; on the fifth (Friday) the Shamans' Contest; on the sixth evening, the burning of effigies; and on the seventh day (Sunday) the ritual washing and feasting. The native feeling was that the effigy burning and subsequent washing and celebrating all constituted "one day," i.e., the sixth, which is not illogical as the events continued from Saturday evening until Sunday evening without break for sleep or rest.

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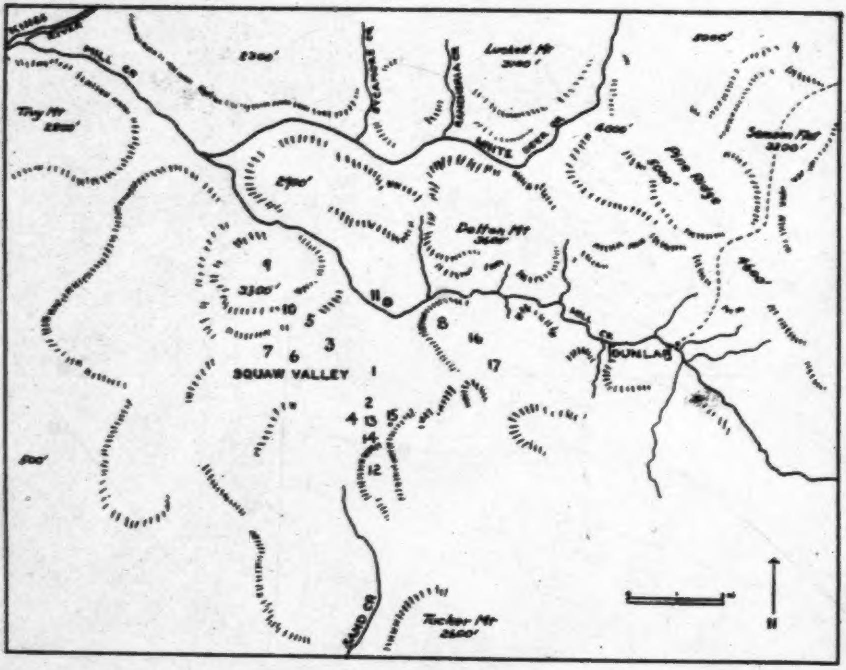
●361


KINGS RIVER
MILL CR
2300'
Tivy Mt
2800'
SYCAMORE CR
Lockett Mt
3100'
WHITE DEER CR
3000'
4000'
Pine Ridge
5000'
Sampson Flat
3200'
2900'
Dalton Mt
3600'
9
3300'
10
5
3
7
6
11
8
16
17
SQUAW VALLEY
1
2
4
13
15
14
12
MILL CR
DUNLAP
500'
SAND CR
Tucker Mt
2600'
N

Map 4. Local Map C: Chukaimina and Michahai sites

[P. 133b] Wukchumni
Chukaimina

668 The dance was called soto·ˊtowɨd kam (to-
be-going-around dance). A circle of [men and]
796 women, usually alternating, and holding hands,
moved in an anticlockwise direction. No fire
535 was in the center, but many fires from en-
circling camps provided light. Singers wear-
ing the regular feather headdress (ču) sat at
one side. They used no instruments. (J.B.
thought "some people to the north used clappers
and the dancers had bells tied to their ankles.")
The singers were not paid, but their food and
fire were provided by winatums from various
visiting groups.

No unusual clothing was worn, but all used red and white face paint.[285] Red paint was not new at this time.

The dancing was continued all night. During interludes of rest Mosuš made speeches. He said, "God made all this land. The dead people are coming if we dance this dance. They dance this dance all the time where they [the dead] are now."

At sunrise dancing ceased; every one went
to swim. During the day people rested, slept,
[262] or played games. There was no abstinence from
meat. J.B. never heard of dogs being eaten; on
one occasion some dogs were killed "because
their barking scared away the ghosts [tawatsa]."
The affair at Eshom lasted six nights.

The Wukchumni informant L. said she had
[184] participated in Ghost Dances at Kadawinao and
Sohonto, Wobonuch villages. She insisted that
all circular dances progressed clockwise.

796 M.L. said she was a small girl living at
the old Tule River Reservation near Porterville
668 when a number of drunken Indians "mostly Mono"
177 came down and sang songs about the annihilation
of the Indians.

CHUKAIMINA

[continued from p. 133a— Analyst]

131 as distinguished from Michahai save that Micha-
hai claims were said to run west and southward
from Squaw Valley to Drum Valley and to merge
with Waksachi in the Murphy Creek region. The
following localities P.M. pointed out from the
height of his hilltop and I later identified
them on U.S.G.S. Topographic Map, Dinuba Quad-
rangle, as best I could.

The following Chukaimina and Michahai
131 sites are shown on Local Map C (map 4).

● 361

103
1. tolsiˊhao (Michahai)
2. takšaˊmyu (Michahai)
3. bučiˊhɨntao (Michahai)
4. ot'oˊto
5. boˊkto: Pete Marlo's place
6. wotoˊno: site of present Squaw Valley grocery store

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[285] See ibid., fig. 2, b.

[P. 134a] Chukaimina

131 7. šu´lmao: Charlie Drake's place
361 8. kapa´no: long hill lying northeast to southwest on east side of valley
9. toi´yok: high peak northwest of no. 5
103 10. wiše´lao: hill between no. 5 and no.9
11. wo´nyu: village site on flat
12. ţo´po: hill south of no. 4
13. kiwe´yu
14. soiyo´'o
15. wai´yo: seed-gathering camp
16. busuta´o: a "bald" hill
17. ka´lpo: an isolated hill

Not definitely located: 18, didɨ´pča: a spring near Jeff Long's ranch; 19, opnɨ´nyu: a Chukaimina campsite on Pughe's ranch; 20, po'o´lo: a Chukaimina summer camp on Bill Curtis's: [?] place; 21, maštɨ´nao: most important Chukaimina village.

592 The informant Mo. could recall only four houses and their inmates at Maštinao.

1. Mo.'s home; she lived there with her father and mother. She claimed her "brother and sister were already dead."

2. Mo.'s father's brother, Šo´'ok (Copperhead) lived alone. He had been married, for his son's daughter was mentioned as "Mike's wife."

3. Mo.'s father's sister, Meyu´lat, married Pu´lkos; their son was Pusɨnɨnwait (P.M.). [P.M. said his father was Toihitcha, a not contradictory statement.]

4. Mo.'s father's female cousin, Koi´yut, married a grandson of Pušlɨlɨn named Ai´jo (Jack); their daughter was Ai´nɨk (Lillie).

BIRTH AND INFANCY

843 The following information was entirely from Mo.

She said there were no prenatal tabus for the expectant Chukaimina mother or father.

Birth took place in the house. The mother
844 was assisted by her own mother, sister, grandmother or, if none of her own kin were near by, some of her husband's women relatives would help. There was no rule. The woman squatted over a depression in the floor, and the attendant caught the baby on a basket tray (čo´pai). The cord was cut with a cane knife (si´kɨd) to about four inches in length; the end was turned back and tied with milkweed string. When the stump fell off, it "was made into a ball with beads" and hung on the hood of the second
[789] cradle. After the child abandoned the cradle, the stump was put in an anthill so the child would become industrious.

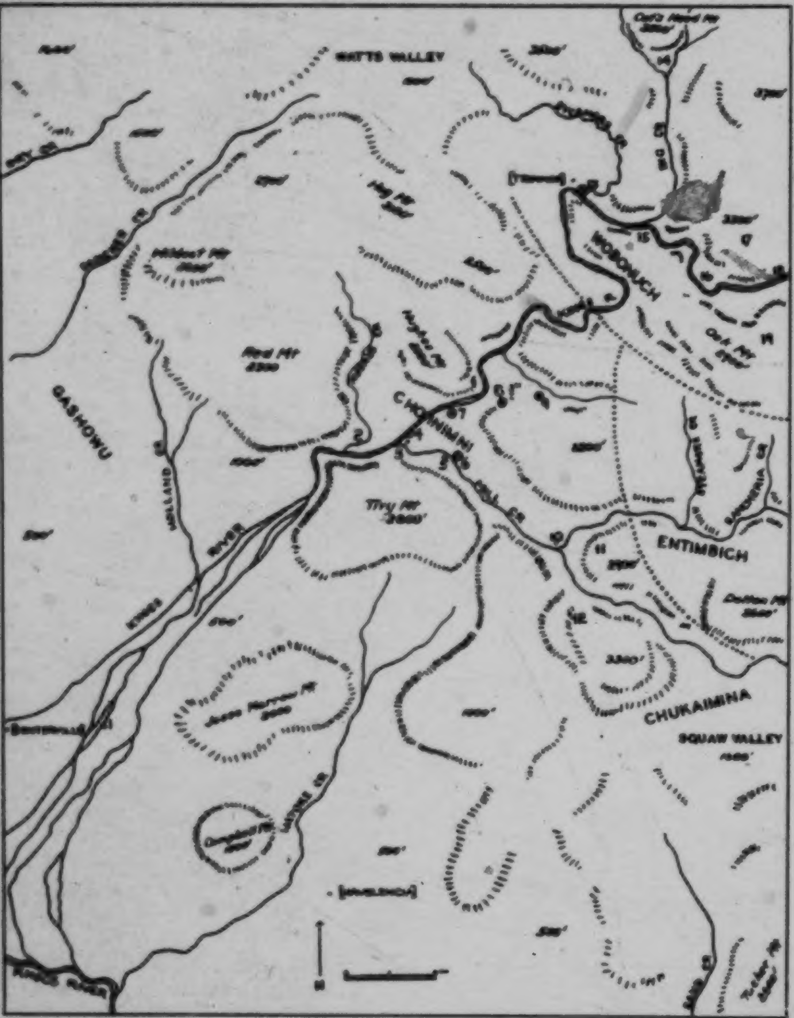
846 A hot pit was prepared for the mother in her own house. A depression was filled with coals and hot ashes, then earth, then grass and mats laid over these. The mother remained on this for ten days but she rose every three or four hours for a renewal of the coals. For the

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29

[P. 144]

Western Mono NS25

● Y
M
131
133
● 361


WATTS VALLEY
WOBONUCH
CHOINIMNI
GASHOWU
HOLLAND CR.
KINGS RIVER
Red Mt 2300
Tivy Mt 2000'
Jesse Morrow Mt
ENTIMBICH
CHUKAIMINA
SQUAW VALLEY
KINGS RIVER

Map 8. Local Map D: Choinimni and Neighboring Territory

574 from the spring floods which would carry them
502 over impeding sand bars. About ten days were
484 required for the trip. Accompanying hunters
sometimes traveled afoot all day and joined the
group on the barges wherever they were moored
for the night. While at the lake, the foothill
[22 people engaged in fishing, bird snaring, rabbit
438] drives, and so on, and doubtless traded their
native products for local ones.[4]

P.D.W. had heard of but one "war," in
726 which "all the Indians gathered at a flat near
Centerville and then ran up back of Pine Ridge."
No more coherent statement could be got: it
suggests an occurrence under white pressure,
perhaps in connection with the Ghost Dance.[5]

101 In referring to neighboring people, directional terms were generally applied when one did not wish to make reference to a specific tribe. Thus the Gashowu, Kechayi, Dumna to the north were called hoše´m. The Michahai, Chukaimina, and even Wukchumni were homti´nɨn, southerners. The term wa´kli'u was applied to the Toihicha and Wechihit on the west. The Wobonuch and Entimbich to the east were spoken of as nɔt. Collectively all Western Mono groups were referred to as nuta´wi or nutsa´wi (easterners, uplanders), just as were other mountaineers to the south, Tübatulabal (Pitanisha) by Paleuyami, Koyeti, etc.

Directions were spoken of spontaneously
823 by P.D.W. and given unhesitatingly in the following order: hošo´mo (north); homtinɨn (south); wakli'u (west, possibly downstream); nɔt (east, mountainwards); ṭi´pɨn (up); atɨ´i (down).

Localities

131 Local Map D shows the following Choinimni and Wobonuch sites.

361

103 Choinimni sites:

1. kipai´yu: west terminus of Choinimni territory; Centerville
2. hoha´ltao: valley east of Piedra
3. hɨ'ha´šyu: cemetery for no. 4
4. tihe´ču: meaning "fish going up"; a fishing camp
5. wohoi´nu: campsite
6. kuluša´o: an old large village
7. waša´mao: a village
8. yegwo´nyu: a village
9. lolo´nču: a village
10. mučeto´'o: a camp
11. wiše´lao: west terminus of Entimbich territory where they came for fish
12. wo'a´ltyu: northeastern terminus of Michahai territory
13. apa´wɨč: Trimmer Springs; west terminus of Wobonuch territory called by them wasa´mu

---

[4] Ibid., 29, 30.

[5] Perhaps earlier, 1851, at the time of the Mariposa Battalion's forays.

[P. 153 a] Dumna

DUMNA

TRIBES AND LOCALITIES

101 131 The informant B.W.'s notions of tribal locations were definite as to direction but hazy and conflicting with other information on specific locus. He located neighboring tribes as follows.

The center of Tu´mna (Dumna) territory was at Millerton where their largest village (A´ťbu) was located. B.W. gives the word ho' as its name, and tci' as the Gashowu name: I interpret this not as a specific name but as the word for village, or possibly even tribe. The [622] chiefs at the Millerton rancheria were To´mkɨt (Tom Wilson, B.W.'s father), next We´sča, then Čokɨ´t. B.W. thinks there were as many as ten chiefs after his father, who died in B.W.'s boyhood.

Below the Dumna on the San Joaquin, and occupying both sides of the river, were the Hoi´yima (Hoyima), and beyond them the Tuko´yo (possibly Tokia, the Salinan or Chumash). Up the river from the Dumna were the Keče´yu (Kechayi). East of them, about a half-mile south of the San Joaquin River, were the Puški´ša (Posgisa), a Western Mono tribe. North of the Posgisa, on the North Fork of the San Joaquin were the Yaya´či (Yayanchi). Two contemporary chiefs there, in B.W.'s youth, were Ču´iču´i (Joijoi)[27] and Pine´wači. The Chukchansi were on Fresno River at Coarse Gold; two of their important chiefs were Kalo´masmɨn and Salo´knɨč. At the present town of Chowchilla were the Nu´taču. And on the Fresno River at Madera were the Čauši´la (Chauchila) whose head man was Opa´mči. The Gaso´wu (Gashowu) were on the north side of Kings River, north of Centerville.

An additional comment was that "at Auberry the people were mixed 'Digger' [Yokuts] and Monachi [Mono]." Of people at Fresno Flat and Sycamore, B.W. could recall nothing. Any kind of people were collectively yoko´č, an individual man, no´no.

Localities

103 361 A long list of place names was given but only a few could be definitely located; consequently they have not been mapped.

1. ho': a Dumna village [a generic term, not a name ?]
2. tci': a Gashowu village [a generic term, not a name ?]
3. tewa´nčo: old village site 1/2 mile west from B.W.'s house at Friant
4. čai´čiyu: old village site about 1 mile east from B.W.'s house

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[27] The introducer of the Ghost Dance (Gayton, Ghost Dance of 1870).

[P. 153 b] Dumna

DUMNA

103 5. huku´ktuktu: 1/2 mile south of no.
6. ka´oso: village at Firebaugh where
361 "everyone" used to go for salmon fishing
7. če´yao: salmon camp above no. 6
8. če´šao: salmon camp above no. 7
9. a´tbu: main Dumna village at Millerton

The following were not located: 10, čo´'omtɨlao; 11, ya´pɨk'nao; 12, yɨmšu; 13, ho´suniu; 14, če´pnao; 15, tɨne´lao; 16, kɔčo´yu; 17, ti'če´niu; 18, hogo´nɨlao; 19, hutu´nɨlao; 20, ko´wačko´čo; 21, taka´tipao; 22, te·´ninao; 23, čamxɨ'nšiu; 24, paxɨ´kčiu; 25, šɔ´koiyu; 26, woto´tiu; 27, co´hono·no; 28, ča´tɨlao; 29, hotoi´yiu; 30, tubaudibao; 31, tiše´niu [no. 17?]; 32, nepɨnwa´šu; 33, šišɨ´lu [Table Mountain?].

The Northern Foothill Region in 1851

114 648 The tribes at the eastern edge of the northern San Joaquin Valley, along the San Joaquin and Fresno rivers where they debouch from the foothills, were dislocated drastically by the Mariposa Battalion in 1851. The formation of this battalion to subdue the Indians of the San Joaquin Valley foothills climaxed increasing hostilities between the native owners and encroaching white settlers. Lafayette H. Bunnell, a physician accompanying the group which first entered the Yosemite Valley, included in his interesting and sympathetic book on the Yosemite and Indian War of 1851 some references to the Northern Foothill Yokuts.

101 114 648 The Chowchilla were believed to be the ringleaders in resisting white domination, and their name at that time was used to cover native groups which lived on the Fresno and San Joaquin rivers, as a dialectic difference was recognized between their speech and that of the tribes to the south on the Kings and Kaweah rivers, who were called collectively Kaweah.[28] (Or so do I interpret Bunnell's usage of the names "Chowchilla" and "Kaweah.")

648 The outstanding figure in the conflict was one José Rey, a "Chowchilla" chief whose assistant was Tomkɨt, the father of our Dumna informant, B.W.[29] After José Rey's death, Tomkɨt and Frederico went down to the Kings River people for help; there the local chiefs advised them to meet the terms of the white soldiers.[30]

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[28] Bunnell, Discovery of the Yosemite.

[29] B.W. represented himself as Dumna (Tumna) to me, as "Chowchilla" to Dr. Stanley Newman. As I have no reason to doubt his statements and have no contradictions from his Kechayi step-relative, I have kept his material under the Dumna label.

[30] Bunnell, 140-141.

619 222 together to gather acorns, just as the Wukchumni (J.B.) mentioned for the seed-gathering camps in the Central Foothill region.

648 439 In spite of the somewhat inimical relations with the Monachi, or Eastern Mono, a lively trade was carried on between Yokuts and Mono to exchange the products, natural and manufactured, of the valley and mountain regions. In this trade the Western Mono (Yayanchi, Posgisa, etc.) were the middlemen. The Monachi came over as far as Auberry, bringing rabbitskin blankets (yeˊgɨs), moccasins, rock salt (oboˊko), red and blue paint, and pine nuts. In exchange they received acorns, willow-bark baskets, and bead money (šilɨˊmki). The bead money the middlemen had received in payment from the foothill Yokuts, who, in turn, got it from the valley Yokuts in exchange for deer meat, oak wood (tiˊhɨn), and stone mortars and pestles, all of which were lacking in the lower lake and barren northern valley region.

The expeditions for trade were made by the Monachi: E.M. said "nobody from this side ever went over there." It is possible that the general direction of trade expeditions was westward -- Eastern to Western Mono, Western Mono to foothill Yokuts, foothill Yokuts to valley Yokuts,[49] and valley Yokuts to the Chumash and Salinan on the coast.

Localities

101 103 Few sites or localities could be named by E.M.; these have not been mapped.

● 361 ahoˊluʼi: a Kechayi village on the San Joaquin River not far from Auberry
owoˊmniu: a Posgisa [?] village at the edge of Table Mountain
šuˊmhun: a village at the junction of Fine Gold Creek and the San Joaquin River
šanwoˊganiu: Dumna village on the San Joaquin River [the Millerton Court House stood on the spot][50]
takaˊtipao: Kechayi territory or paˊʼan in general
ačoˊpo: unlocated
kumkuˊmɨč: "humming bird place"; not located, a saloon there where Haiʼaiʼɨč: got liquor
kokoˊhɨp: Sycamore

STRUCTURES

342 **Dwellings**.--The houses of the Kechayi were of the hemispherical thatched type. The floor (waˊʼai) was circular, about 10 feet in diameter, and excavated for about 18 inches.

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[49] See the Choinimni trips to the Tachi in Latta, Uncle Jeff's Story, 29 ff.

[50] Although E.M. calls the village Šanwoˊganyu, the word is actually Penutianized "San Joaquin" and is applied to the river also.

1; Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29

[P. 163 b] Kechayi

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Officials

622 The chief (ti´ya) functioned as among the
[361] Central Foothill tribes. His house was always on the west side of the village, regardless of his moiety affiliations. It was the only house
622 given a special location. He "was the richest man, every one had to pay him at a mourning
556 ceremony whether they wanted to or not." There was no physical punishment or direct penalty for a person who did not pay, but one who was able to pay and did not would be in disfavor with the chief and would lack the latter's personal support when he might want it. The chief
622 did no hunting; "he told his winatum to tell
554 some men to go hunt for him." For this the men were not paid. E.M. did not think that the chief's wives could lay claim to seeds and acorns in the same manner, but payments to the chief or his wives might be made in these products when occasion arose. The duties of the wives, also called tiya as were their sons and daughters, were primarily those of hostesses. They often advised other women in their private affairs and carried weight in the community with prestige as well as personality.

Feasts or parties, like those given by
622 chiefs of the lake tribes, were given by
527 Kechayi and Gashowu chiefs. There was no set time for them; they occurred two or three times during a year, that is, between fall and spring when village life was integrated. Announcement of the feast was made in advance by the winatums; everyone in the village was invited. The chief, his immediate family, and relatives, provided the food and cooked it. Such affairs lasted about three days, alternating games, dancing, shamanistic displays, and sweating
[616] with the feasting. No payment was made by the guests. There was no moiety division at these parties.

The position of chief passed from brother
622 to brother, then reverted to the eldest son of the eldest brother. This, at least, was the theory of its inheritance. The brothers "had been working together," and the successor was experienced and knew in personal detail the duties and privileges which he was taking over. A chief's son "stayed with his father all the time" in order to hear and learn the functions which he would later be called upon to perform. Before he died, a chief would designate his successor.

At Aholu'i, a Kechayi village on the San Joaquin River not far from Auberry, E.M.'s
[551] father's brother, Gaida´na, was chief. After him came Huhutu´tu,[36] for whom she could give no genealogical placement, saying only that he was "a relative" of Gaidana. A Dumna chief,

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[36] The name sounds like a Yokuts nickname and well may have been.

[P. 176 a] Chuckchansi

166 222 For acorns the Chukchansi went north to Bass Lake, said N.W. While up there they always feared the approach of bears.

For seed-gathering they went down toward Madera to what is now the Dobie [adobe?] Ranch.

[484] [438] Expeditions to get basketry materials -- roots which did not grow abundantly in the hills -- were made to the lower Fresno River near Madera. Only women who knew how to make baskets would go, accompanied by their husbands and families. They stayed away from home about a month, camping along as they went. Enough food, such as acorn meal, cooked, uncooked, or even unleached, was taken, while the men hunted for meat food as they traveled. Both women and men dug the roots. Some of the materials brought back were sold to others.[80]

242 351 J.R. claims that when he was a boy the Indians throughout this region set fire to the brush after the seeds had been gathered (about July). The men started the fire and the women watched to see that it did not approach the houses. When it did, it was beaten out [with what?]. "It burned the hills, all over, clean through to the next one." The trees, which were green, did not ignite easily: however, "dead trees and logs were all cleaned up that way".[81] The tree covering of this country, J.R. says, was about as it is now, scattered bull pine, oak, etc., and in about the same quantity.

Communities

361 184 Related families usually built their houses in an informal group. These groups, consisting of perhaps three to five houses, would be three to five hundred feet apart, yet in toto the families regarded themselves as comprising a single village. [Such scattered house-groups were not unusual in the Northern Foothills, and "community" is perhaps a better term than "village," in distinction from the townlike villages of the Yokuts to the south.-- A.H.G.]

---

[80] Today S.B. buys basketry materials from others, whereas L.W. said she would always prefer to get her own even when it is a hardship.

[174] [81] The aboriginality of this practice seems dubious. Getting firewood was sufficiently laborious for the Indians to discredit their deliberate destruction of "dead trees and logs." The practice is frequently attributed to early settlers, cattlemen, who wanted better forage for their stock, i.e., land free of underbrush, with improved grazing. On the other hand, there is evidence that shrub seeds, such as the Indians wanted, germinate better when subjected to scorching and it is possible the result was known to the natives and motivated the practice (vide Lester Rountree, Flowering Trees and Shrubs of California). Powers mentions aboriginal firing of the forest "all along the Sierra" (Tribes of California, 379). Dr. Kroeber informs me that firing of natural growth was practiced from Yosemite northward; perhaps this is about the southern limit of the custom. -- A.H.G.

[P. 186 b] Chuckchansi

342 were lashed around the frame poles, ending, of
course, each side of the doorway. To these
were lashed bunches of tarweed (a'mas, N.W.;
tot, M.N.); pine needles (maya, N.W.) and an-
other pine growing at a higher altitude (inil,
N.W.; cedar?) was also used for thatching. An
additional bark covering was mentioned, but not
described, by N.W.; nothing was put over the
tarweed, said M.N. Milkweed string was used
[284] for all the lashings. M.N. said the tarweed
was "woven," not lashed, to the frame and hori-
zontal withes [a dubious statement, -- A.H.G.].
Marking the top of the doorway was a horizontal
stick lashed to the doorway pole; this served
to support a small obliquely jutting roof, also
thatched, over the main roof. The door was
just high enough for the average Chukchansi to
walk through; tall people stooped. A door
covering of "grass" [doubtless the twined mat
door of the more southerly Yokuts, -- A.H.G.]
was leaned, not tied, against the door. It
seldom blew away, and if it did, was recovered
and set up again.

Directly above the door roof or "porch" was an open space which served as a smoke vent. Then the final or apex section of the space between the door poles was covered with thatch resting on a short horizontal stick.

354 The fire was placed about two feet inside
the door so the smoke went up through the open-
ing above it. The fire itself was small, most-
ly coals, and was fed mainly by a long log
which extended out through the door, its tip in
the fire, its butt outside. It was pushed up
as the tip burned away. About five feet back
from the fire were laid pine logs, in a square
or, really a three-sided rectangular form.
352 These served to keep the pine-needle floor
covering away from the fire, and also as sit-
ting places. People sat on the logs, their
[513] feet toward the fire. People also slept with
their feet toward the fire, lying back on the
pine needles. An elderly person, usually "the
grandfather," sat either side of the door to
keep up the fire. Children slept in the rear
center. Dogs were allowed in the house.
Around the extreme back and sides were stored
sacks of acorns, other foodstuffs, and posses-
sions. [Nothing is said of hanging up objects
as in other Yokuts houses. -- A.H.G.]

342 Outside the house was dug a ditch at least six to eight inches deep to drain off rain water. The illustrations are based on drawings and descriptions of the informant N.W.

The same type of house was used throughout the year, although the ramada was the popular gathering-place in summer. Ramadas were used at summer campsites.

● 361 People placed their houses where they pleased; there was no village arrangement (M.N.). When a house stood alone, it faced whatever way the owner wished. But sometimes two houses were needed to accommodate a large family and

[P. 187 9] Chuckchansi

361 these were built with the doors facing each other.

The whole family was concerned with con-
342 struction of a new house. The men secured the
poles, dug the holes for them with digging
[462] sticks and set them up, while the women got the
tarweed, string, and bark [sic], and did the
thatching.

343 The ramada or shade as an adjunct to individual village houses was not described by any informants, though it was mentioned in passing. Presumably it was used by the Chukchansi as by other Yokuts tribes.

344 On the meadow near J.R.'s present (1938) home there was at one time a large communal shade of the type constructed to enclose a dance space and shelter the audience. This J.R. said was "just like a corral," which would imply that it had a back wall as well as a roof. One of the Ghost Dances was held at that place. People played games there, made cider, and cooked. This enclosure would accommodate four to five hundred persons, said J.R. When so many people were assembled and eating, "the women would be doing something, preparing food all the time."[102]

Storehouses and granaries.--A special
343 storehouse, structurally like a dwelling house,
was built near the family home. One such store-
251 house might serve two or three adjacent houses
occupied by related families. These storehouses had a conical frame, up to 6 feet in diameter at the base, and 7 or 8 feet high at the peak. [The walls were not described, but presumably they were of a thatch with bark overlaid: a dry interior was essential.] A bark door covered the entrance "to keep the wind and rain out, so things will keep dry all winter." The floor was covered with a thick layer of dessicated grass, weeds, or boughs, and on this the stuffed storage sacks were laid. "The heavy sacks were laid down, and the light things hung up." Salmon was hung on crosspoles, but jerked deer meat was stored in [skin] sacks. The meat and fish were taken out and examined from time to time for worms, bugs, or decay; contaminated portions were discarded.

251 It was not considered good practice to pile up too much stored food as it was awkward to handle and encouraged decay. Only enough food for one meal was removed at a time from the storehouse.

The supply of food in such a storehouse
was expected to serve at least one family
throughout the winter. A large family with
251 many children would be tided over lean periods
by their neighbors, should their food become
222 exhausted. Even in winter men went out to hunt
224 every day, and women found late seeds, or some

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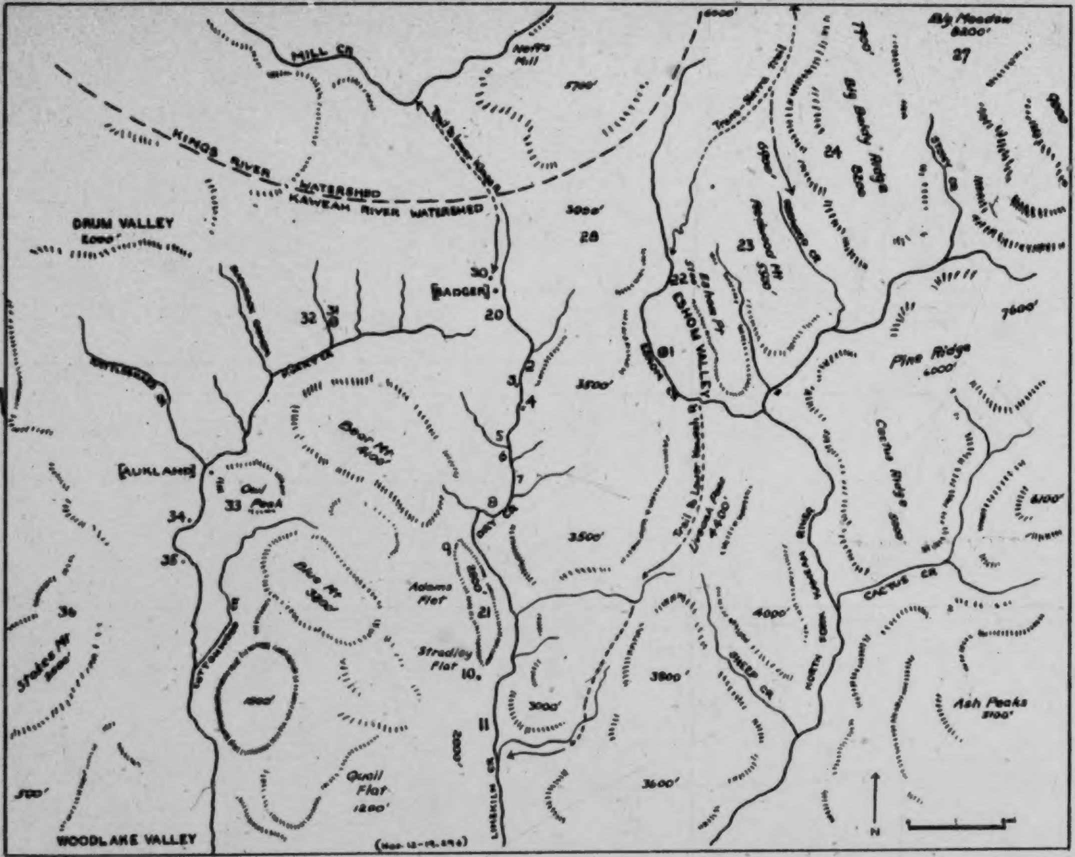
[102] Neither the number nor the activity is exaggerated if we are to judge by accounts of other Yokuts assemblages (Gayton, Estudillo, 74); Powers (p. 385) estimated "about 300" at the Chukchansi ceremony he witnessed.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29

[P. 212] Western Mono NS25

y W 131 133 361


MILL CR.
Neff's Mill
5700'
KINGS RIVER WATERSHED
KAWEAH RIVER WATERSHED
6000'
Trans-Sierra Trail
Big Meadow 8200'
27
24
Big Baldy Ridge 8200
7000'
23
Redwood Mt. 5300'
DRUM VALLEY 2000'
3000'
28
30
[BADGER]
20
32
22
Eshom Pt.
ESHOM VALLEY
31
7600'
Pine Ridge 6000'
3500'
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
[AUKLANE]
Owl Peak
33
34
Bear Mt. 4100'
Cactus Ridge 5000'
6100'
9
3500'
Trail & Logging Road
Limekiln Peak 4400'
35
Blue Mt. 3200'
Adams Flat
21
CACTUS CR.
4000'
Stokes Mt. 2000'
36
Stradley Flat
10
3900'
SHEEP CR.
NORTH FORK KAWEAH RIVER
1900'
3000'
Ash Peaks 3100'
11
LIMEKILN CR.
Quail Flat 1200'
3600'
500'
WOODLAKE VALLEY
N

Map 3. Local Map E: Waksachi Territory

Y
M
101 Neither was there any sense of one family or
lineage, more than another in the same tribe,
owning, or originating in, the tribal pa´an.
Y
M
A moiety term (Yayanchi) given by Kroeber[155]
was unfamiliar to B.O., who ventured that it
192 "maybe meant toward the north, some people
living farther north."

[illegible] The Waksachi had two permanent village
Y sites, Čita´tu in Eshom Valley and Atitrao on
● 361 the edge of the plains at Gaines Flat. The
former had about twenty-five houses; the latter
221 was nominally the terminus of the summer seed-
M gathering trip down to the valley. The route
Y followed was always the same -- down by Dry
[487] Creek, across Rucker, Adams, and Gaines flats.
The Waksachi claimed this area and all sites in
it listed below, although there were no permanent villages or dwellings situated in it
within the memory of informants. This annual
move to the plains brought the Waksachi into
contact with Gawia and Wukchumni whose territory began at Ničina´o (Karlburn Point?). Only
if there was a severe winter or a poor acorn
crop in their Eshom Valley center, did the Waksachi remain at Gaines Flat through the winter.
The Waksachi made use of the country on the
upper reaches of Lime Kiln Creek, which eventually flows into Wukchumni territory. The area
which lay between this and Patwisha holdings at
Three Rivers, on the Kaweah River, was unoccupied and served as hunting and foraging grounds
for Waksachi, Wukchumni, and Patwisha. The
joint claim was wholly amicable, according to
all information. The Waksachi went southeast
from Eshom Valley to Cactus Mountain for yucca,
but not beyond. And they went across Redwood
Mountain to Old Baldy Ridge for piñon nuts.
This last ridge they never crossed, although no
M people lived above them on the west slope of
the Sierra.

Y The people of Tušao village -- mixed Micha-
[887] hai, Chukaimina, and Waksachi -- often joined
with those of Čitatu. Only very old people
stayed at Tušao all the year round. The others
went to Čitatu every summer for acorns. In the
spring they went down toward Stokes Flat for
fishing: they had a camp there named Tulna´o
(Map 3; Local Map E, no. 34) and another fish-
M ing site near by called O´polo´o (meaning "in
Y the sun," Local Map E, no. 35). Stokes Moun-
[484] tain was called Mučati´ʼ (Local Map E, no. 36).
When traveling to the fish camp, they left

---

[155] Ibid., 588.

● Y
W their houses at home and built temporary
● 361 shelters at the campsite. The possessions
221 taken were rabbitskin blankets, all basket
484 utensils, both large and small cook pots, mush-stirrers and shelled acorns. Mortars were not taken, as they were rarely used save in the absence of the bedrock mortar; cooking stones were picked up anywhere. The paraphernalia packed in carrying nets by the men were the
Y blankets and pots; women put their baskets and
W acorns in burden baskets. Infants might be
[854] carried by either parent atop the load, never in the arms. Babies were also carried in their cradles by older sisters while the mothers carried burdens.

Y S.O.'s statement that there was no private-
W ly owned land or gathering-places is, I think,
423 over-generalized. Certainly there were no rigidly defined limits, but the fact that a bride returned to her mother's gathering-place rather than going to her mother-in-law's or, better yet, gathering where she would, indicates at least a tendency toward personal association with a gathering-place, if not indisputable proprietary rights. (See Aerie Ownership.)

W The sites named first by B.O. follow the
Y route to Gaines Flat (nos. 1 to 19); thereafter
103 come more random outposts to the east and north
131 (see Map 3; Local Map E).

361 1. čita´tu: the main Waksachi village, tribal home or center
2. mosa´o: Rucker Flat
3. pinətsa´kowei: next camp south
4. tupaha´na: next camp south
5. hopuru´howa: Reed's place
6. kako´wa: Bill Hart's place
7. pasio´kiwi: Mel Osborn's place
8. mi'i´ñwi: Hunt's winter range, "Ranchería Flat"
9. koiwe´niu: hill by Adams Flat [possibly Sugarloaf]
9a. tâveto´ri: Buzzard Roost, by Adams Flat, not located definitely
10. koiña´wasiu: camp south of Adams Flat
11. takika´puwi: gap going toward Gaines Flat
12. waja´'unasako·nyap: a place just east of Gaines Flat
13. kama: an intervening spot en route (not definitely located)
14. tsawige´wa: Red Hill, above Gaines Flat
15. taka´ñwi: Buckeye Flat, near Bones Cañon
16. tupa´puwi: near Buckeye Flat
17. kotiša´o: foot of hill next to Gaines Flat
18. atitra´o: Gaines Flat, the campsite there
19. ničina´o: Karlburn Point [?], a hill near Gaines Flat on which tobacco grew abundantly. This was the edge of Gawia territory and the southern limit of the Waksachi range.
20. tao´hom: high hill south of Badger
21. (omitted)

[P.214b] Western Mono NS25

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22. na´'an: hill above Hershberger Ranch
23. woho´naga´tiri: Redwood Mountain. This is the only name said to have a meaning (lit., redwood mountain), but that this should be the only one seems dubious.
24. tipa´čivo·no: Old Baldy Mountain [Big Baldy Ridge]
25. penama´ti: "a big rock north of the sawtooth crags." Not located, possibly Buck Rock
26. paso´'owi: camp at Black Ox Springs, not located
27. pa´čiata·wi: Big Meadows
28. pasiwa´na: John Crow's Hollow, where men went for arrow canes
29. warosa´giti: twin peaks in the Gawia plain
30. koiwoi´'iu: Badger
31. kiču´'u: Ash Springs
32. tuša´o: "salty water," near Ash Springs
33. wiwa´nao: Owl Mountain
34. tulna´o: fish camp
35. o´polo'o: meaning "in the sun"; fish camp
36. mučati´': Stokes Mountain

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There are two big peaks in the mountains, says B.O., called Pa´ᵘwijwiyu (Map 5: Local Map G, no. 2, Obelisk) and Kai´binum (Cyclone) (no. 11, Buck Rock). The former is elder brother to the latter. Kaibinum, the younger, said to his brother, "Let's take off our shirts and fight!" At this Paᵘwijwiyu pulled off his shirt, but the challenger merely shook himself and pulled his shirt up in preparation to removing it. Both brothers shook their bodies, but young Kaibinum did not get his shirt off in time and his older brother hit him with his club. Kaibinum, a smaller rock than his brother, kills deer and drops them down into the canyon below. (California Tehipite Quadrangle Topographic map shows Buck Rock as 1200 feet lower than Obelisk.) The same story was related by the Wobonuch informant, G.D., but with the relative ages reversed.

Trade

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Trading was carried on with the Eastern Mono (yo´'owots), who came over the Sierra Nevada and down to Eshom Valley by means of a trail which came through a pass just north of Old Baldy, down Redwood Cañon, across Pierce Valley, and into Eshom to Čitatu. From there the traders would go on down Dry Creek, following the Waksachi route, to the Wukchumni and Gawia. About a dozen of the Eastern Mono would come as a group. Women sometimes came with them to sell baskets, which were considered finer than the local Waksachi ones. An occasional woman would bring her entire family and stay the winter. While some local man might live with her, she would not be taken to wife and would return home in the summer when

W Y [P. 216 9] ~~Western~~ Mono NS25

342 frame bands and hanging baskets, jerked meat,
skins, and other things hung from them. There
W Y was no special place of honor for a guest to
sit or sleep, though the preferred place was
[574] thought by B.O. to be just inside the door on
either side. The senior or authoritative
woman of the household who was responsible for
the preparation of meals usually sat and worked
just to the left of the entrance as one entered.

W Y There was no village plan, or defined
[361] location for chiefs' or doctors' homes.

While the Waksachi used the conical house, the oval type, characteristic of the Wukchumni and other foothill Yokuts, was the more common, according to B.O The floor space, which was some 15 feet wide by 20 feet long, was not dug down, but wore down eventually from constant tramping.

Two forked poles supported a center beam or ridgepole 10 to 15 feet long. These parts might be of alder or oak. The frame was of willow "or any kind of good wood." The side poles were laid against the center beam, and those at the ends were laid into the forked post. These side poles, while held in position by horizontal withes, were not bent to form a curved roof line, as in Yokuts houses, but, lying straight, produced an obtuse-angled gable.

The walls were covered with a thatch of grasses, seldom a thatch of tule (fig. 1, b, Pt. I). The whole process was the same as for the conical house. Both men and women tied this thatch on, although men made the frame and women the thatch "skirt."

The doorway, which was invariably in the long side of the house, was covered by a mat of twined tules stiffened on each side with willow sticks lashed along its edges. The door was not fastened to the house, "just leaned against it."

There was never more than one room to such
a dwelling, nor were there partitions. "A man
built his house the size he needed and he never
added a room" (B.O.). The fireplace was in the
center, the smoke escaping through a slot left
W at the ridgepole between the last rows of
Y thatch. Beds were made of pine boughs, ob-
tainable near Eshom Valley, or of tule mats.
[352 Rabbitskin blankets were the preferred covering,
[237] though these often had to be obtained by trade
[439] with the valley people. No type of pillow or
head rest was used. [The idea of a wooden head
[522] or neck rest B.O. thought very funny indeed.]
513] There was no place of honor.

No plan was followed when setting up houses in a village: "anybody built where he liked."

The bark-covered house (toṭo´pti, Michahai) was made on a conical framework which had as its basis a single forked center post. Occasionally two forked posts with a short center beam were used. Against either the single fork or the center beam were laid stiff poles, rather close together and lashed to their sup-

chief was accorded a certain precedence. It is possible that the 616
head of every tribe was always of this division, and that the polarity 622
of authority was more of a formal or ceremonial nature, a half-conscious
reflection of the social bifurcation. At any rate, all historical
and biographic accounts mention only one chief for each
group.

Another position that was hereditary was that of the *winatum*, 624
the messenger or herald. In a typical village the chief was supposed
to have his house in the middle, a *winatum* at each end. [361]
When one of these heralds was sent to announce a festival he was
paid by the invited guests. A chief in need of shell money for any
purpose might send his *winatum* to chiefs elsewhere. These would [651]
gather their tribes, who would contribute what they thought proper
to the occasion.

Two other offices were, if not hereditary, at least held for life. 624
One of these was the clown, Yaudanchi *hiauta*, Yauelmani *hiletits*, 522
Tachi *hohotich*, whose business it was to mock sacred ceremonies,
speak contradictorily, be indecent, and act nonsensically. The 838
tongochim or *tunosim* were the transvestite sexual perverts recognized
by all North American tribes. Among the Yokuts they possessed 767
one unusual privilege and obligation: they alone handled 624
corpses and prepared the dead for burial or cremation, but were
entitled to keep for themselves any part of the property placed with
the body. Both at the immediate and the annual mourning ceremonies
they conducted the singing and led in the dancing. It is
clear, once the character of these persons' peculiarity is understood,
that they were not delegated to their status, but entered it, from
childhood on, by choice or in response to an irresistible call of
their natures.

WAR.

Very little is known of Yokuts warfare. The tribes seem generally 648
to have acted as units when conflicts arose. This should have given
them some advantage of solidarity and numbers over most of their
neighbors; but there is nothing to show that they were specially
feared. Conflicts between tribes were apparently about as frequent
as with aliens; and with many of their neighbors they were on
friendly and even intimate terms. The Yokuts were evidently on
the whole a peaceable people.

It has been said that they did not scalp. As an absolute statement, 727
this is surely incorrect, for a myth tells how the prairie falcon after [773]
a battle hung the hair of his slain foes on trees, where it can be
seen to-day as moss. But this is certainly a strange use to which
to put trophies, and one arguing a lack of the usual Indian sense of
such matters. There also appears to be no record of any Yokuts

342 with rounded but vertical ends. There may be a ridgepole on two posts, with perhaps five poles planted along each side and bent over to the ridgepole. In this case the door is on one side of the front post. Or the ridgepole may be dispensed with and the poles bent all the way over or lashed together. The total length is only a dozen feet or so. The covering is of loose tule mats, each stalk wrapped to the next by a hitch in a single strand of string. Floor mats and bedding are sewn through. The Wechihit use a covering of tall *mohya* stems, reaching from the ground to the ridge, and held in place outside by several horizontal poles lashed to the framework. This type of house was called *te* or *chi*.

4. The Yaudanchi, though a hill tribe, built their principal winter houses or *te* of tule, of which a species called *shuyo* grows along streams to the very limit of the plains. This was a conical dwelling, and its most distinctive feature was a hoop at top to attach and at the same time separate the leaning poles of the framework, and leave a smoke hole. The tule mat covering was sewn as by the lake tribes. The houses were placed in rows. [361]

A larger, ridged house, with two fireplaces and a door at each end, was also built by the Yaudanchi. In this a valley influence can scarcely be questioned.

When camping well up in the hills in summer, or traveling, the Yokuts built small structures, apparently conical, covered with brush or bark.

Among the northern hill tribes, such as the Chukchansi and Gashowu, the house is also conical with a ring at the top, but usually thatched. The floor is lowered perhaps a foot with the digging stick. The door faces south, the diameter is 12 to 15 feet, the height not quite as much. Allowing for the lack of tule, this is the same house as that of the Yaudanchi, but it is called *ho*, literally "live," "sit."

5. A bark house of similar type is called *samish*. Sometimes bark is first leaned against the framework as a partial covering, then brush thatch added, and the whole held fast by bands of pliable poles or withes tied around.

It is interesting that there is no reference anywhere to tule thatching. The thickness of this rush may make its sewing or binding into mats more practicable than bundling it into thatch. The Serrano and other southern Californians also built tule mat houses, but the Pomo employed tule thatch. [132]

[343] The *ch'inis* or shade, a flat roof on posts, was used by all the Yokuts. It must have been almost indispensable in the intensely hot summers of the plains.

344 The sweat house, *mosh* or *mos*, is a true sudatory, oblong, dug down several feet, with a ridge log resting on two posts at the ends,

2:Kroeber
101, 102, 131, 133, 312, 361, 197

NS29 Yokuts

Sec. A	Sec. B
Sec. C	Sec. D

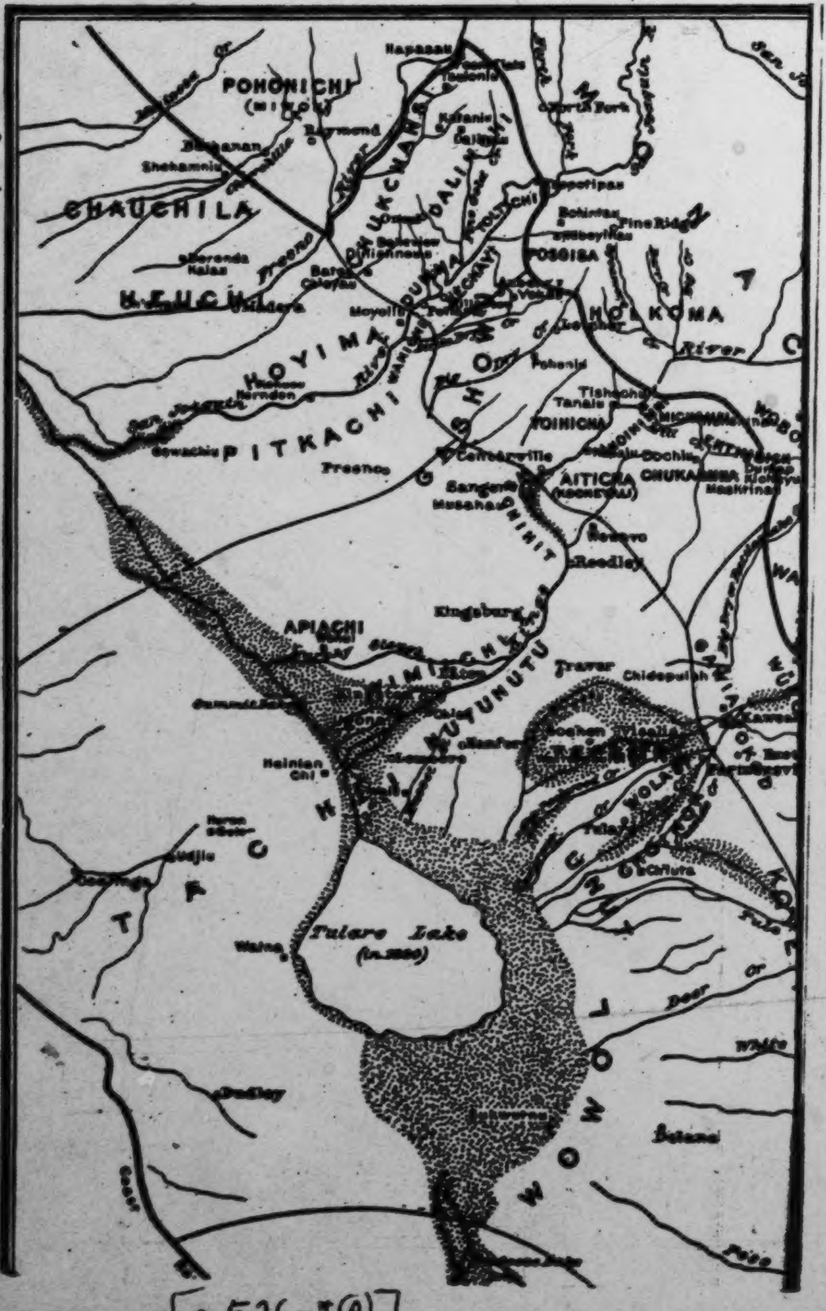
Chart of the position of sections of map 526-I.

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953

NS29 Yokuts NS29

BUREAU OF AMERICAN ETHNOLOGY

101
102
131
133
312
● 361
197


POHONICHI
(MIWOK)
Raymond
Buchanan
Shehamniu
CHAUCHILA
Fresno River
HEUCHI
CHUKCHANSI
DALINCHI
TOLTICHI
Pine Ridge
TOSOIBA
DUMNA
KECHAYI
HOLKOMA
River
HOYIMA
Herndon
San Joaquin
PITKACHI
GASHOWU
Pohonid
Tanais
TOIHICHA
Centerville
Fresno
AITICHA
CHUKAIMINA
Sanger
WACHAHET
Reedley
Kingsburg
APIACHI
WIMILCHI
NUTUNUTU
Traver
Hanford
TELAMNI
WOLASI
CHOYNOK
Coalinga
TACHI
Tulare Lake
(in 1850)
Dudley
WOWOL
KOYETI
Deer Cr.
White
Poso
WUKCHUMNI
Kaweah

[p. 526-I(A)]

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953

NS29 Yokuts NS29

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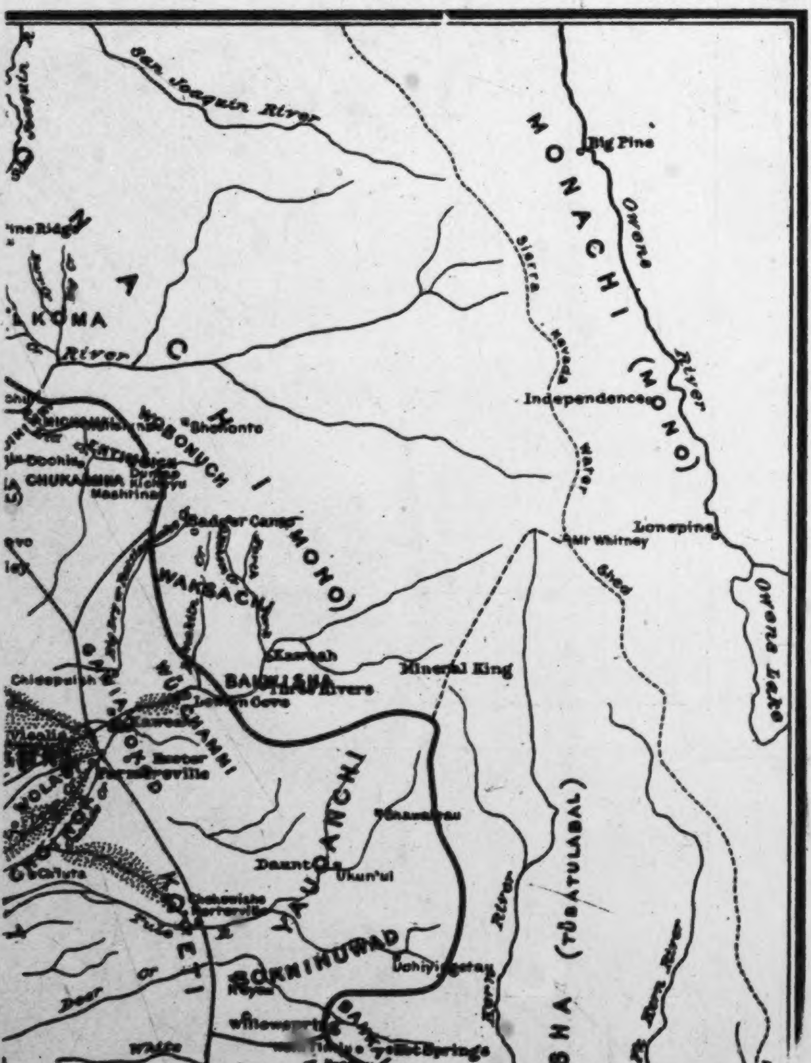
San Joaquin River
MONACHI (MONO)
Big Pine
Owens River
Sierra Nevada water shed
Independence
Lonepine
Mt Whitney
Owens Lake
EKOMA
River
Shohonto
WOBONUCH
CHUKAMINA
Doohia
Dunlap
Kichayu
Mashrinau
Badger Camp
MONO
WAKSACHI
Kaweah
BALWISHA
Three Rivers
Lemon Cove
Mineral King
WUKCHAMNI
Chiedpaiish
Exeter
Farmersville
YAUDANCHI
Daunt
Ukun'ul
Porterville
Tule R
KOYETI
BOKNINUWAD
Deer Cr
White R
Willow Springs
BANKALACHI
Delano
Lion Valley
Kernville
Isabella
Tuneh
Weldon
TANISHA (TÜBATULABAL)
River
South Fk Kern River
Owens Peak
Walker's Pass

[p.526-I(β)]

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

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● 361
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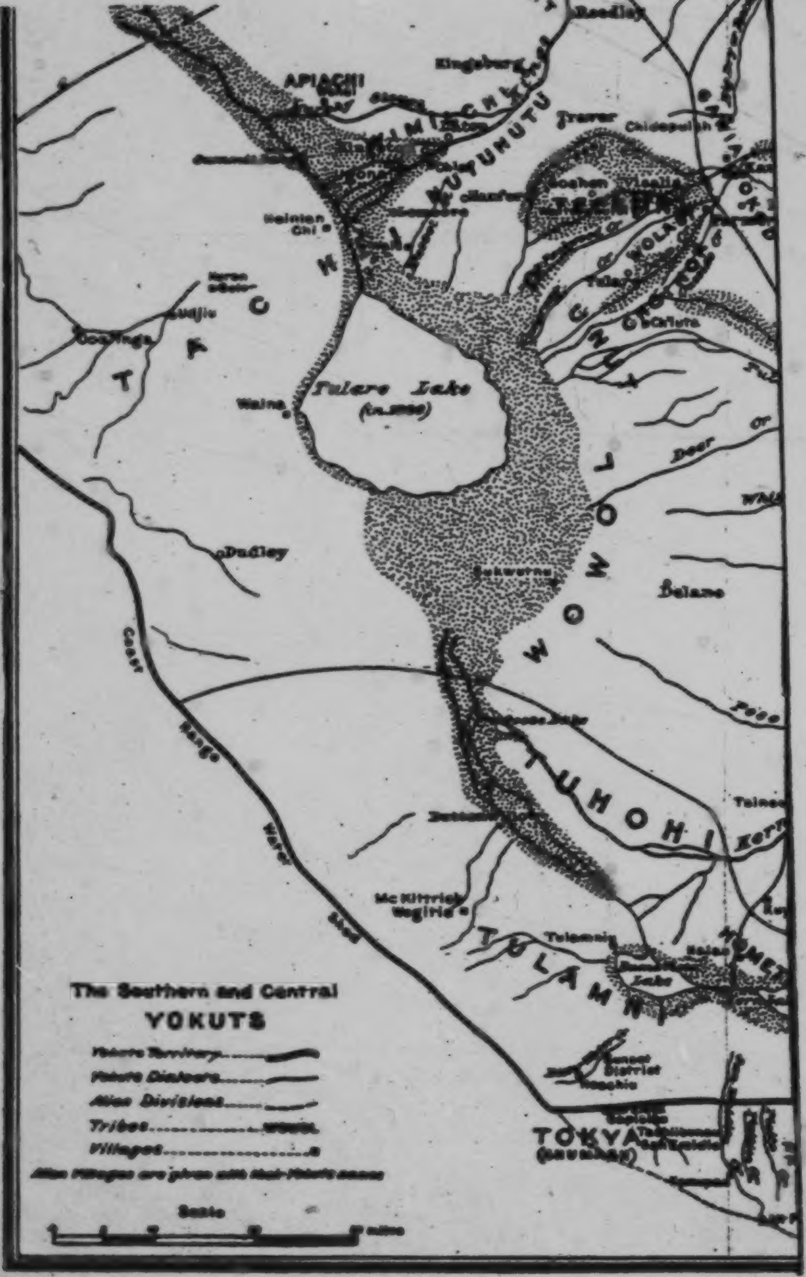
APIACHI
Reedley
Kingsburg
Traver
Goshen
Visalia
Hanford
NUTUNUTU
Coalinga
T A C H I
Waina
Tulare Lake (in 1850)
Tulare
Dudley
Delano
Deer Cr
W O W O L
Poso Cr
T U H O H I
Kern R
McKittrick
Wogitiu
Telomniu
T U L A M N I
Lake
Sunset District
TOKYA
Coast Range
The Southern and Central
YOKUTS
Yokuts Territory
Yokuts Dialects
Alien Divisions
Tribes
Villages
Scale
miles

[p. 526-I(c)]

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953

N S29 Yokuts NS29

101
102
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312
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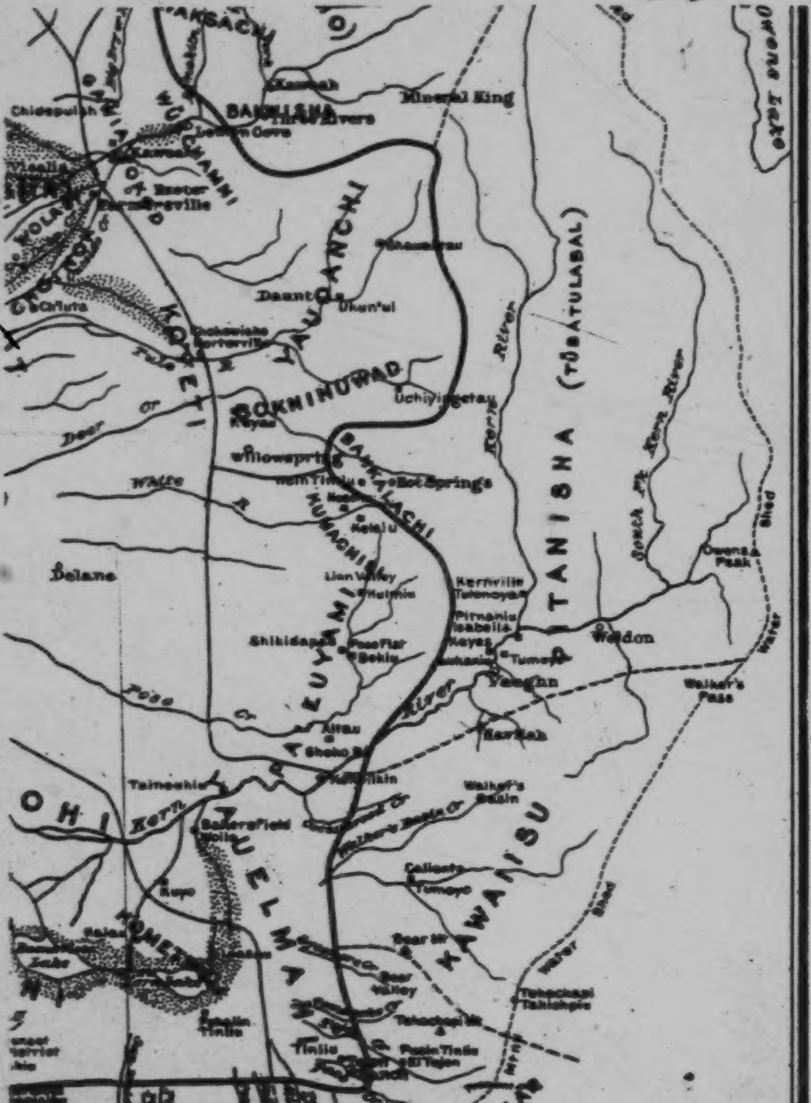
PAKSACHI
WUKCHUMNI
BANKLISHA
Three Rivers
Lemon Cove
Mineral King
Chischpulish
Exeter
Farmersville
YAUDANCHI
Daunt
Ukun'ui
Porterville
Tule R.
KOYETI
Deer Cr.
BOKNINUWAD
Uchiyingetau
Kern River
(TÜBATULABAL)
PALEWAMI TANISHA
Willowsprings
White R.
Hot Springs
BANKALACHI
KUMACHISI
Delano
Lion Valley
Kernville
Isabella
Weldon
Owens Peak
South Fk. Kern River
Shikidapan
Poso Cr.
PALEUYAMI
Walker's Pass
Kern River
Walker's Basin
OHI
Kern
Bakersfield
TUELAMNI
KAWAIISU
Caliente
Bear Mt.
Bear Valley
Tehachapi
Tinlia
El Tejon
HOMETWOLI
Lake
KITANEMUK
Owens Lake

[p. 526-I(D)]

177 Many of the Yokuts tribes did not come in contact with whites and were not seriously disturbed by western immigration until as late as the early 1860's. This is probably not true to the same extent of so numerous a group of people at any place within our nation. By 1860 many tribes of the eastern and southwestern United States had been disturbed for 250 years. For this reason the leading scientific institutions of the United States are hurrying to gather all possible information concerning these people before the last remnants of the older generation have passed away.

133 It is fortunate that the names of a number of the San Joaquin Valley tribes have been preserved, we hope for all
103 time, in the names of some of the rivers and creeks of the San Joaquin Valley. The most northerly of these is the *Cosumne* river. Near it lies the *Mokelumne,* and farther south the *Tuolumne, Chowchilla,* and *Kaweah.*

A few other landmarks have been knowingly or unknowingly named after Indian tribes. *Tehachapi* Valley probably took its name from the native word, *Tah-hi'tch* or *Tah-heetch,* meaning Oak Covered Valley. The Wahtoke district east of Sanger was named for *Wahtoke,* who was chief of the *Choinimne* tribe of Yokuts on Kings River. The Wukchumne Irrigation District and Wukchumne Hill east of Visalia were named for the *Wukchumne* tribe, full-blooded remnants of which still reside on the Kaweah River east of Visalia. Camp Potwishi in Sequoia National Park, was named for the *Pahdwishi* (Pahd'-wih-she) tribe which once lived there. Yokohl valley northeast of Exeter was named for the *Yokodo* tribe, which once occupied it. The Laguna de Tachi Land Grant, surrounding present Laton, was named for the Tachi tribe of Yokuts.

101 At the coming of the first American settlers, as early as
177 1850, and probably long before that time, there were no living Indians occupying the entire west side plains, from Byron on the north to Paleta in Kern County, where the Santa Maria road crosses the Coast Range via Maricopa and the Cuyama Valley.

172 The remains which characterize an Indian occupation are quite common throughout the entire west side area. These re-
361 mains are in the nature of depressions left by their houses or tepes, burial grounds, and debris-scattered camp sites. Throughout this territory thousands of stone implements and weapons have been found, showing that from time to time

the entire area was occupied, although probably not by such 172
great numbers as was the east side of the valley. 361

Concerning these west side tribes there is, of course, 101
practically nothing known. Few hints as to their names and
habits have been left by the Spanish missionaries in their records concerning the tribes taken from that territory. This
lack of data is due to the fact that the entire west side was [797]
stripped of Indians upon the completion of the missions to the
west, probably before the year 1806. With one or two exceptions, they never returned to that area, it being too open to the [648]
invasions of the Spanish, whose advances were not welcomed
by those primitive people.

THE NORTHERN YOKUTS

One of the most marked characteristics of the Yokuts 101
people concerned their organization into tribes, and their es- 131
tablishment of definite boundaries for each tribe. This is not common to all California primitive groups, nor to primitive groups in other portions of the United States.

Beginning at the northern end of the San Joaquin Valley 101
the tribes were distributed roughly as follows: According to 131
F. W. Hodge, *Handbook of North American Indians*, the 619
Yachikamni Yokuts occupied the territory surrounding present
Stockton. *Tchikimisi*, on the south side of the Cosumne River, 103
and *Tawi*, on the lower San Joaquin River, were Yachikamni 361
villages.

In addition to the Cosumne and Mokelumne who are by some authorities classed as *Miwok*, there were along the Stanislaus river the *Tuolumne*, although their name was given to a river further south. According to J. C. Frémont the *Auxumne* lived on the Merced River. The *Chulamni* are reported on the Stockton plains.

The first tribe about which anything definite is known is
the *Chauchila*, for which the anglicized Chowchilla has been substituted. These people were the only warlike tribe of Yokuts. [181]
They ranged along the Chowchilla River from the San Joaquin River on the west to the Sierra foothills on the east.

The *Heuchi* claimed Fresno River from the San Joaquin River to the foothills. Their village of *Chekayu* was located on the north bank of Fresno River, about four miles below present Madera. Above the Heuchi, on the south side of Fresno River, were the *Chukchansi*, a foothill tribe.

101 On the location of the later white village of Bates, on upper
103 Cottonwood Creek, was the Chukchansi village of *Cheyau.*
131 Farther east, and about six miles south of O'Neals, was the vil-
619 lage of *Dinishneu.*

●36 The southern Yokuts called the San Joaquin River
[226] *Tihshachu,* meaning salmon spearing place. Indians traveled
great distances to spear salmon on the shallow sand bars there.

On the north side of the San Joaquin River, between the foothills and the Big Bend at Mendota, were the *Hoyima.* About a half mile below the Herndon bridge was the Hoyima village of *Chayo.* Another Hoyima village was located about three miles upstream from the Herndon bridge. It was named *Atabo* (Ah-tah'-bo). On both sides of the San Joaquin, about two miles above Lane's Bridge, was the Hoyima village of *Yimshu.* On the north side of the San Joaquin River and about three miles above the mouth of Big Dry Creek, was the Hoyima village of *Moloyu.*

Across the river from the Hoyima were the *Pitkachi.* On the south side of the San Joaquin River, at the site above the Herminghaus Ranch and known as Rancho de los Californios, was the Pitkachi village of *Gewachiu.* Another of their villages was *Kohuou* (Ko-hoo-o'-oo), located near where the town of Herndon is now.

At the junction of Little Dry Creek and the San Joaquin River were the *Wakichi,* and above them the *Kechayi.* Table Mountain on the south side of the San Joaquin River and upstream from present Millerton Lake in Kechayi land, was called *Tapu Chilow.* South of Table Mountain was the village of *Muhnowlo.* North of Table Mountain, on a large flat by the river where the Indians speared salmon, was the Kechayi village of *Kiahno.* During the time when salmon were running, every bush and most of the ground in the vicinity was red with drying salmon.

East of the Kechayi, on both sides of the San Joaquin were the *Toltichi.*

Opposite the Keychayi were the *Dumna.* Little Table Mountain, on the north side of the San Joaquin River in Dumna land, was called *Shishilu.* South of Little Table Mountain, on a small flat, was the Dumna village of *Chahtaou.* Nearer the river was the village of *Wayahchu.* *Wumwumwus* (Woom-woom'-wus), meaning rock pile, was the Dumna name for the round lava cap a half mile northwest of the Indian settlement

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

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Mortars in the outcropping granite rocks by the San Joaquin River at the edge of the old *Dumna* (Doom'-nah) village of I'-uh-pin. Here the Indian women pounded the acorns which they later made into bread, soup and mush. [252]

above Friant. White people in that locality call this hill The Pincushion. At the bottom of Lake Millerton and south of the old San Joaquin River channel was the Dumna head village of *Kuyu Illik*. North of the river and below Friant Dam about five miles was the Dumna village of *Iuhpin*. In the bluff above Iuhpin is a cave which the Dumna said had supernatural power and which they called *Ihlip*. [778 823]

Between the Kings and San Joaquin Rivers, ranging from the upper foothills down onto the San Joaquin Plains, were the *Gashowu*. The names of two Gashowu villages have been preserved. About two miles above the junction of the Dry Creek and Aubury roads, at an old spring where there are now some fig trees growing, was the village of *Shoko*. On Big Dry Creek,

101 about five miles below Letcher, was the village of *Pohoniu.*
103 Lookout Mountain, south of Big Dry Creek in Gashowu land,
131 was known as *Wamihlow.* Some upright granite outcroppings
on the north slope were known by the same name and were
619 thought to be Indian women who had turned to stone.

361 North of the most northern of the lower Kings River channels, known as Murphy Slough, were the *Apaichi,* a small tribe closely related to the more widely distributed *Tachi,* who occupied the north and west shores of Tulare Lake to the south. The Apaichi village of *Wohui* was located on the north bank of Murphy Slough, about seven miles above its junction with San Jose Slough.

Along the north bank of Kings River near Laton and on nearby Kings River Island were the *Wimilchi.* North of Kings River and about seven miles below Laton was the Wimilchi village of *Ugona.*

Across the river to the south of the Wimilchi were the *Nutunutu.* The Nutunutu village at old Kingston, on the south bank of Kings River a short distance below present Laton, was known as *Kadistin* (Kay-dis'-tin). Across the river and directly west of the Wimilchi village of Ugona was the Nutunutu village of *Chiou.*

On the north bank of Kings River, centering about Sanger, were the *Wechikit* and across the river to the south, the *Aiticha.*

At the junction of Mill Creek and Kings River were the *Choinimni.* In Choinimni land there have been preserved a number of villages and landmarks. Trimmer Springs was known as *Wahkotrow* (Wah-khot'-row) (west center of Section 7, T12S, R25E MDB&M). Dalton Mountain was called *Piakchin;* and Campbell Mountain, *Wahwahlut* (Crying Place). Hughes Creek, the first creek on the north side of Kings River above Del Piedra, was called *Duhniu* (Duh-ni'-oo), meaning Jimson Weed. A village there, near the John Akers home, was known by the same name (Section 4, T13S, R24E, MDB&M). On the south bank of Kings River, a few hundred yards below the mouth of Mill Creek (NW ¼ Section 10, T13S, R24E, MDB&M) was the village of *Shetnow,* meaning Wild Onions. On Mill Creek, about two miles above its mouth, was the village of *Tahshocu,* Mouse Killing Place (SW ¼ Section 11, T13S, R24E, MDB&M). Mill Creek was called *Wokotro,* meaning Where Water Runs in Both Directions. Hughes Mountain and a village on it were known as *Nowuhsun.*

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Mary Tipp, last surviving full-blood of the Nutunutu tribe from lower Kings River.

South of the Choinimni, on Mill Creek, were the *Michahai.* Still farther south near Dunlap were the *Entimbits* (En-tim'-bits), a tribe sometimes classified as Shoshonean. Pine Ridge, due north of Dunlap was called *Lokhoey,* or Deer Place, and was an Entimbits landmark. Sontag Point, east and slightly north of Dunlap was another Entimbits landmark, called *Toyahbe,* meaning Rocky Hill. It has a grey granite outcrop-

101 ping at the west end just before the hill flattens out into a long
131 ridge. The Entimbits called Squaw Valley *Tucheu* (Too-che'-
619 oo). Mill Creek, where it runs by Dunlap was called *Balwu*
103 (Bahl'-woo), or simply The Stream. The large mountain just southwest of Dunlap store, and in Chukamina territory (north
36 center of Section 10, T14S, R26E, MDB&M) was called *Kawis* by the Entimbits. The long ridge and hill at the west end of the ridge (center of Section 9, T14S, R26E, MDB&M) was called *Hoeyu* (Hoey'-yoo), meaning Deer Mountain. The gulch between the two hills named above was called Balwu, meaning The Stream. Dunlap Valley was called *Tahlow*. On Mill Flat Creek three miles above where it enters Kings River was the village of *Coahme Quate*.

Just west of the Entimbits were the *Chukaimina* (Choo-ki-meen'-uh), the tribe which occupied Squaw Valley. *Mush-tin'-now* was a Chukaimina village two miles directly east of Squaw Valley Corners (center of Section 12, T14S, R25E, MDB&M). Mill Creek between Squaw Valley Corners and Dunlap was called Balwu. A Chukaimina village on highway No. 180 (SW ¼ Section 35, T13S, R25E, MDB&M) was called *Tucheu* (Too-che'-oo). The creek south of this village was called *To'-chim Bahl'-woo*. A small divide or pass just west of Tucheu was called *Mimliu* (Mim'-le-oo).

The ridge running north and south just east of Squaw Valley, Ruth Hill, was called *Gowpinow*. Baldy, the round pointed high hill at the north end of Gowpinow (SW ¼ Section 1, T14S, R25E, MDB&M) was named *Pusutow* (Poo-soo'-tow). The ridge just north of Pusutow was named *Pokololo*. Squaw Valley was known by the name of the principal Chukaimina village, Mushtinow. When the white people first settled in Squaw
622 Valley the Chukaimina Chief was named *Jungkush*. From 1870 on until the tribe was broken up, the chief was *Puslilin* (Poos-lil'-in). He died about 1900. Both he and Jungkush are buried at Mushtinow. Bear Mountain (NW ¼ Section 5, T14S, R25E, MDB&M) was known as *Wihshalu* (Wih-shay'-loo).

A small village, occupied in the spring for gathering seeds, was located southeast of Squaw Valley Corners (north of center of Section 15, T14S, R25E, MDB&M). It was named *Taht-chahmew* (Taht-chah'-mew), meaning Left-handed Place. Drumm Valley was named *Chasheu* (Cha-she'-oo) by the Chukaimina.

The Indians in Drumm Valley were known to the Chukaimina 101
as *Wechiket*. This tribe also lived on the Kings River 131
bottom around where Sanger and Centerville are now. Drumm 103
Valley was their summer camping grounds. 619

The San Joaquin Valley, like any other large, open valley,
was called *Chawdawno* (Chaw-daw'-no), *Chaw-law'-no*, or 361
Traw-law'-no, according to the tribal dialect.

In the entire San Joaquin Valley there was probably no more thickly settled district than that surrounding Tulare Lake and the Kaweah River branches, and certainly none more suited to the needs of primitive man. Along the northeastern shore of Tulare Lake were the *Chunut*. These people ranged from the lake shore up the four lower channels or creeks of the Kaweah to a point approximately opposite the present village of Paige, five miles west of Tulare. Above the Chunut the four creeks were occupied by three tribes.

Cross, Mill, and Packwood creeks were occupied by the *Telamni*. This tribe had a large rancheria, the site of which is now probably within the present Visalia city limits.

Cameron Creek was occupied by the *Wolasi*. *Dawaw Nawshid*, the principal village of this tribe, was five miles east of Visalia at a mound once occupied by the home of the Broder family. Another village four miles south of present Farmersville was called *Chuntow*.

Outside and Deep Creeks were occupied by the *Choinok* (Choi'-nock). Their greatest population was probably near the junction of the two channels, but the only village within their territory the name of which is known, is *Cheuta* (Che'-uta), near the present city of Tulare.

At the site of Terminus Beach on the Kaweah river above Lemon Cove two tribes had permanent villages. On the north side of the river were the *Gawia*, or Kaweah. On the south bank was the Wukchumne village of *Coach-nah'-meu*. The main Kaweah Yokuts village was on the north bank of St. Johns branch of the Kaweah river just below the Venice Hills (SW ¼, Section 17, T18S, R26E, MDB&M). The name was *Kaweah*, meaning Raven.

Colvin Mountain was known as *Chadip Wishow*. Smith Mountain, northeast of Dinuba, was named *Wukmudno*.

South of the Kaweah were the *Yokodo*, after which Yokohl Valley was named. The Yokodo village on the south bank of the Kaweah at the Lime Kiln (NE ¼ Section 35, T17S, R27E,

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

101 MDB&M) was called *Ho-sho'-shud.* Northeast of present Mer-
131 riman (NE ¼ Section 7, T18S, R27E, MDB&M) was a Yokodo
village named *Sheudu* (She-oo'-doo). The Wukchumne village
103 on the sand flats across the river to the north was called
619 *Unow* (Oo'-now).

361 The old Yokodo main village was known by the name of the tribe. It was located on the south bank of the Kaweah River directly north of Exeter where the Exeter golf course was later established (SW¼ Section 22, T18S, R26E, MDB&M).

The bare ridge sloping to the north from the highest portion of Rocky Hill, in Yokodo Territory (center of Section 6,
T18S, R27E, MDB&M), was known as *Hawshaw Shido,* mean-
317 ing Paint Place. The Yokodo mined there a white earth that
438 they traded among the surrounding Yokuts tribes who used it
386 for making white paint.

The Lime Kiln being the upstream limits of both Yokodo and Kaweah, as well as the downstream limits of the Wukchumne, the site was occupied by all three tribes. On the Kaweah River about three miles above Lemon Cove was a Wukchumne village known as *Gotow.* Slick Rock, on the
Kaweah River above Lemon Cove, was called *Pahdin,* mean-
776 ing Place to Go Under. The water hole beside it was named
Ahdit Wisha. It was thought that an evil spirit dwelt under
823 Pahdin and pulled swimmers into the water hole and drowned
them. Pahdin was the extreme upstream limits of the Wukchumne.

Tawpongaw was the name of the rocky hill about a half-mile east of Lemon Cove (SE ¼ Section 2, T17S, R27E, MDB&M). The name means Buckeye Place, as the hill was once well covered with buckeye trees. There was a spring and an old Wukchumne village there of the same name.

About one-fourth mile up the Kaweah River from the bridge on the highway between Lemon Cove and Woodlake (SE ¼ of Section 34, T17S, R27E, MDB&M) is a rock called *Mawyucaw,* Whirlwind Place. It lies close to the west side of the Dry Creek Road where it runs close to the west bank of Limekiln Creek. About one mile north of Mawyucaw (west portion of Section 26, T17S, R27E, MDB&M) the Dry Creek Road enters a little valley which the Wukchumne called *Shuckoyu,* meaning Elk Valley.

The junction of Dry Creek and Kaweah River was called *Chowpow.* *Tiupinish* was the name of Wukchumne Hill which

is near the depot at Lemon Cove. Near the bridge across the 101
Kaweah River on the road between Woodlake and Lemon Cove 103
was a salt spring which the Wukchumne called *Tushow* (ow as 131
in cow). They obtained salt by boiling and evaporating the 619
water.

Three miles northeast of Woodlake, the Pohut home, (NW [258]
¼ of Section 28, T17S, R27E, MDB&M) was *Tahponguh*, or 361
Buckeye Springs.

The small lone hill, about a half mile southeast of Lind Cove, was known as *Kowichow* (Kow-ih'-chow).

The mixed color paintings on Bacon Hill, north of Red- [531]
banks, and the hill itself, were called *Hucha Ingutch*, meaning
Writings.

About one-half mile west of Woodlake is a low swale run-
ning north and south. It was named *Ahd-tow*, meaning Salt [137]
Gathering Place. Salt grass still grows in the bottom of it.

At the east end of the straight stretch of pavement leading east from Woodlake is a small flat, below a very rocky gulch (NW ¼ of Section 33, T17S, R27E, MDB&M). This was a favorite place for gathering grass nuts (*kawatchip*). It was named *Kawatch Pawme.* In the old days there was a fine spring
there. About three hundred yards northeast, and uphill
from Kawatch Pawme, is a small flat called *Hawyaw Heitch.* [776
A mythological spirit guarded the spring there and claimed
that he could hear whenever anyone spoke his name. The name 823]
means Name Calling Place.

On the Dry Creek Road, which runs north from the bridge across the Kaweah River between Woodlake and Lemon Cove, are several Indian landmarks. To the north, as this road leaves the hills and starts across the first small valley, (west portion of Section 26, T17S, R27E, MDB&M) there is an old acorn-
grinding site. It is about seventy-five yards west of the road [415
and is marked by granite rocks containing many acorn pound- 252]
ing mortars. Its name was *Pachakish* (Pah-chah'-kish). Due north of this site, at the end of the straight stretch of road is a small bare hill which was called *Tacayu* (Tah-cah'-yoo).

West of Tacayu about a mile and a half is a spring which was known as *Shuquoyun* or Elk Place. It is at the foot of the grade leading to the Pohut place and Buckeye Springs (Tahponguh). In the hills just east of Lemon Cove (SW¼ of Section 1, T18S, R27E, MDB&M) there was a fine spring and a village named Choyo. Over the hill southeast of Lemon Cove

101 was the village of *Ustunu* (Oo'-stoo-noo). At the Lime Kiln
103 Hill above Lemon Cove, on the south bank of the river (NW ¼
131 of Section 35, T17S, R27E, MDB&M) was the village of
Hososhud. On the northeast slope of WukchumneHill at Lem-
619 on Cove, and extending to the northeast, was the Wukchumne
●361 village of *Shonoyu*.

North of Woodlake (SW ¼ of Section 13, T17S, R26E,
[776 MDB&M) is a small, rocky, lone hill. It was named *Bawsu*,
823] meaning Hollow. A spirit was thought to live inside of it.
Back of the rocky range of hills north of Bawsu was a village
[137] named *Awnew*. A dwarf variety of tule, known as *awn*, grew
there. This site is at an old homestead settled in early days
by "Mitch" Work (NW ¼ of Section 18, T17S, R27E,
MDB&M).

In the edge of the hills north of Antelope Valley, north-
east of Woodlake about five miles, was the most northerly vil-
lage of the Wukchumne (SW ¼ of Section 17, T17S, R27E,
MDB&M). It was named *Wuknaw* and was an important
[415 antelope hunting and seed gathering place. The site is marked
by many mortars cut into the outcropping granite by ages of
252] acorn pounding. The high peak northeast of Wuknaw one
mile was called *Tuyow* because an Indian hunter was once ac-
cidentally shot there with an arrow (*tuyosh*).

About one-half mile west of Wuknaw was a village named *Wipanche*. There was a spring at the site which was at the edge of a hill. At the site of the old Toler home, one-half mile northeast of Woodlake, is a small granite rock-topped knoll which was named *Koseu* (Ko-se'-oo).

Above Lemon Cove several miles, and north of the highway (SW ¼ of Section 25, T17S, R27E, MDB&M) is a landmark known as Eagle Ridge which ends in a peak which the Wukchume called *Teduntow*, meaning Rolling Down Place. This name resulted when an Indian gambler was killed as he tried to roll down the hill to win a bet. Eagle Ridge slopes down to the north bank of Kaweah River where it ends in a bluff. The Wukchumne called this place *Otoy Yahsid*, meaning Falling Off Place. As two Indian friends were looking over the bluff, one pushed the other, who fell into the river and was drowned.

Rocky Hill east of Exeter was named by the Yokodo, *Chahka Shahna*, meaning Live Oak Place.

The village of *Moiyuk* was located at the pointed hill northeast of Lemon Cove, (SE ¼ of Section 35, T17S, R27E,

MDB&M). A village at the bridge across the Kaweah River 101
between Lemon Cove and Woodlake was named *Hawcunu.* The 103
name of Limekiln Creek was *Chahka Ushu.* The highest peaks 131
just east of the Lime Kiln (NW ¼ of Section 36, T17S, R27E, 619
MDB&M) were named *Iago.*

The village on the "sand flats" on the north bank of the 361
Kaweah River at Lime Kiln was named *Unow* (Oo'-now). The little pass through which the highway cuts just east of Lemon Cove (SW ¼ of Section 36, T17S, R27E, MDB&M) was called *Woidunit.*

A hill close to the north side of the Kaweah River, (SW ¼
of Section 25, T17S, R27E, MDB&M) was called *Chiishe* 825
(Chi-ish'-e) meaning Dog, because it was thought that a wild dog lived in a hole there. The beautiful valley of Lemon Cove was occupied by the Wukchumne.

On the north and west shores of Tulare Lake were the Tachi. They occupied a large territory, extending over the Kettleman Hills and Plains to the upper foothills west of Kettleman Plains. On the west shore of Tulare Lake, where Kettlemen City was later located, was the Tachi village of *Walna.* Another Tachi village was *Waiu,* where the Santa Rosa Indian settlement is now located south of Lemoore. West of the mouth of Kings River and about eight miles northwest of Waiu was *Heinlen Chi.* At Huron was *Golon,* and five miles southwest was *Udjiu,* known to whites as the Poso Chané.

THE WEST SIDE YOKUTS

As has been before stated, our knowledge of the Indians 101
is a blank concerning almost the entire west side territory from the northern range of the *Tachi,* which would be at about a point opposite Coalinga, to old Point of Timber, near where the city of Byron is now located.

Deeming this to be a regrettable fact, I have been ever on the alert for any suggestions which might lead to the obtaining of the names of any of the Indian villages or tribes within this territory. It must be admitted that during more than twenty-five years of such effort very little information has been obtained. That little is related to only three localities.

The locality around present Coalinga was called *Chahki,* 101
meaning asphaltum, by the surrounding Yokuts tribes because 317
of the deposits of asphaltum there. The Yokuts made pilgrim-

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

101 The Yokuts made pilgrim-
31 ages there for the purpose of gathering asphaltum for mending
[484] and waterproofing their equipment. . The Indian children used
it for chewing gum.

East of the city of Coalinga there is an old Mexican settle-
101 ment which, since an early period in the Spanish settlement of
103 California, has been known as the *Poso Chaná*. Several dif-
131 ferent derivations and meanings have been suggested concern-
ing this name.

361 While questioning an old Spaniard who was visiting relatives in upper Antelope Valley in northwestern Kern County, I asked, "What is the meaning of *Chaná?*" The answer was direct and definite. "It is the name of the tribe of Indians which lived there before the coming of the Spaniards." This man was Mr. Theodoro Larios, who was born in the little village of San Juan Bautista in 1860 and whose grandfather had charge of more than a thousand Indians while the mission at that place was being built.

After the mission was completed the elder Larios assisted in removing the Indians from the west side of the San Joaquin Valley and remembered distinctly having taken the Indians from the village of *Udjiu* (Ood'-ge-oo) which was settled at that time by the Spaniards and re-named by them after the people who were being removed, the Chaná Indian tribe. The water hole at that place led to the Spanish name Poso, or water hole, and was also an inducement to the Spanish to settle there.

During November of 1930 I obtained from *Pahmit*, an old *Dumna* Indian of Friant on the San Joaquin River, the name of the tribe which occupied the San Joaquin River below the *Pitkachi* and around the towns of Mendota and Firebaugh. According to his statement the tribe was known as the *Kah-watch'-wah*, meaning Grass Nut People. Pahmit furnished the only first-hand information I have obtained about the Indians of the West Side between Panoche and Romero Creeks, a distance of about thirty miles. As all other data gathered from him has proved accurate, we will read his story. I have corrected some of his broken English:

159 "When I was boy one strange Indian came to live with my father. He was 'bout fifty years old. I was 'bout ten. We call that Indian *Tukwhel* (Toó-kwheel). That means West. We call him that because he came from the West. His right name was *So-pah'-no*. He was born at an Indian village on Los

Baños Creek. When we sit around our camp-fire he tells us lots 159
stories 'bout his people.

"When I 'bout twenty-five years old I drive ten mules freight team to Stockton. I do that 'bout ten years. I go two or three times with mules freight team to Gilroy after freight. That way we go over Pacheco Pass. That time Pacheco Pass was bad road. We hate to drive mules team over that road. When Sopahno real old man he go with me lots times on them trips. He cook and help me harness mules. He tell me all 'bout West Side and 'bout his people there.

"One night we camp at Los Baños Creek, where old freight [361]
road cross. We camp early, so Sopahno take me down to old
village place where he born. He show me where his father
used to live. He tell me all 'bout his people.

"Sopahno said his tribe name was Ka-watch'-wah. They 159
live on west side of San Joaquin River, from below Firebaugh 101
'bout five miles down to north Los Baños town, north where 103
San Luis Creek runs into San Joaquin River. They live too in
the west hills all along from Panoche to north of San Luis 131
Ranch. San Luis Creek all belong to Kahwatchwa. Their home 361
villages both on Los Baños Creek, one at hills and one at San
Joaquin River.

"Sopahno's village, *Kah-to'-mah,* was 'bout two hundred
yards from San Joaquin River [here Pahmit undoubtedly
meant one of the sloughs west of the river] on south bank Los
Baños Creek. We walk down there from our camp on old
freight road in 'bout ten minutes. He show me his father's
house. It was big hole in ground, lots bigger than our houses
up at *Kuyu Illik* (Koo-yoo Ill-ik). We sit on side Sopahno's 159
old home and he tell me how Spanish take him to Mission San 648
Juan when he just 'bout twelve-fifteen years old. 797

"One morning early they all asleep when they hear big noise, lots shoot, lots yell. Lots Indian run away in tules. Spanish shoot, kill lots Indian men, women. They kill Sopahno's father. His mother run away in tules. Spanish take 'bout twenty-thirty Indian boys and girls.

"Sopahno stay at Mission San Juan 'bout twenty years. Then the priests tell Indian, 'You all go away from Mission. You all go back your homes.' Then all Indian go away from San Juan.

"Sopahno come back to his old home. There's nobody 159
there. Indian all gone, Indian house all burned long ago. He

159 go horseback. He go up Los Baños Creek to hills. He go up
river 'bout fifteen miles. There's no Indian anywhere. He go cross Fish Slough to California Ranch and see some Indian spear salmon in San Joaquin River. He talk to them Indian. They talk almost like his old mother and father. He understand everything they say. He tell them everything. He talk to my father. My father say, 'You come to our rancheria, live with us.' He live with us 'til he was old man, 'bout eighty-five maybe ninety years old. He die 'bout three days after first train go across railroad bridge on San Joaquin River. We all go down see that first train go across that bridge. When Sopahno see that he say, 'Now, I see everything. Now I'm gonna die.' And he did die after 'bout three days.

101 "When we go Gilroy, Sopahno tell me more Kahwatchwah
names. They call Indian tribe to north *Ho-no-um'-ne.* Indian
159 to south they called *Tucuyu.* They go from Kawatchwah south
103 to *Apeche* (Ah-pe'-che) 'bout old Casa Blanca where Tran-
quality now. One their villages, name *Kahwahchu* [meaning
[361] Grass Nut Place] was right where they had that Mexican town,
Las Juntas, just where Fish Slough and San Joaquin River go
together. White people put big dam there in San Joaquin
River.

[161] "When I little boy there just few them people left, maybe
two, maybe three, live at Millerton with my people. Once, when
159 I 'bout six, seven years old they want to go back to Kahwahchu
769 to have one more big dance for dead people. They go. 'Bout
fifteen, twenty our people go. My grandpa, Tomkit, he chief
with Dumnas, he go. He help 'em make dance. I go too.

"Old Chief Tucuyu, he go too. He been chief with that Tucuyu tribe before he go to missions. He want to see his old place once more. He live in mountains south of Bakersfield. He got place there he call Tucuyu too. When he go there from missions, he name it after his old people south Las Juntas.

"We stay there one week and have dance for dead people.
[648] Mexicans there make trouble for us. They 'fraid we gonna
maybe steal cattle, maybe hurt somebody. So we never go
back again. Tucuyu big people once. They talk just like my
159 people. Once used to be Kahwatchwah village at San Luis
361 Ranch, where we stop all night when we drivin' mules freight
team. It by San Luis ranch house. They call it *Hah-no'-mah.*
Pacheco Pass they call *Lees-na'-yah.* One night we stop our
mules team at Salt Slough [due east of the present town of

159
361
[142]

This man was living at San Benito in 1925. When a young girl his grandmother had been taken from a village in the tules east of present Los Banos and kept at Mission San Juan Bautista. He is probably not a full-blood, but has interesting features.

Gustine]. There had been big Indian village there. We saw lots big holes in ground where Indian got their houses. Sopahno tell me he was there to big *Lonewis* (Lo-ne'-wis) [mourning dance for the dead] when he was small boy. He call that village *Hah-kah'-wahl*. He said it was Honoumne village.

"Sopahno's old-time stories were just like ours—how 159
Eagle make the world, how Antelope make the milky way, and 773

3: Latta Y.-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

101 the Tule to a point approximately three miles west of where
the Southern Pacific Railroad crosses that stream north of
Tipton.

From there to the present town of Porterville the channel
101 of the Tule was occupied by the *Koyeti* tribe. The chief village
103 was called *Chokowesho* (Cho-ko-we'-sho) and was situated on
131 the north bank of Tule River within a fraction of a mile of the
present Porterville city limits. It is probable that the Koyeti
361 did not range further upstream than Chico Flats, a short distance above the city of Porterville. On Deer Creek, just below the crossing of the upper road (at the old Tatman Ranch home) was the old Koyeti Yokuts village of *Chetetik Nowsuh.*

The Village on the north slope of the high hill about three miles southeast of Plano (south central portion of Section 4, T22S, R28E, MDB&M. The Walter Richardson home stands on the site of this village) was called *Tenalu* (Te-na'-loo) by the Koyeti. The name of the hill (Sections 8 and 9, T22S, R28E, MDB&M was *Pala Natsa.* The small isolated hill about one mile directly east of Plano (NW ¼ of Section 6, T22E, R28E, MDB&M) was known as *Chewil Tinin,* meaning Cottontail's Home. It was also a station from which the Koyeti sent smoke signals.

Fountain Springs, east of Ducor, was known to the Koyeti as *Kahlitkow.* Willow Springs, three miles northwest of Woody, was called *Sanow* (Sah'-now) *Witow* by the Koyeti and *Bokninuwad.*

Coyote Springs, north of Willow Springs and south of Fountain Springs, bore the name of *Kiwin Ilkow.* It had the same meaning as the white man's name. According to *Chamsah,* an aged Koyeti, this name and the names of other landmarks nearby were adopted by the whites from the Indians who were shearing sheep there. The Bokninuwad knew Coyote Springs as *Tiwahnah,* meaning Gaming Tray Place, because the women of that tribe used to visit there to play their dice game.

Northeast of Fountain Springs about four miles is a long mountainous ridge running almost north and south. It was named *Kiahlu* (Ki-ah'-loo), or Lookout Mountain, because they used it for sending smoke signals. A Koyeti village of the same name was located at the south end of this ridge. A rocky gap about one-half mile west of the north end of *Kiahlu* was called *Pahpahwits.* A village and a spring of the same name

were located about two miles south of Pahpahwits, where the 101
John Hewey Ranch home has been for many years. Looking 103
north from Pahpahwits and about three miles distant is a long 131
mountain running northeast and southwest. It was named
Ahsaw. A village and a spring south of the west end of Ahsaw 361
were known by the same name.

Hawscheu (Haws-che'-oo) is a village at the old Hocket Ranch on lower White River just above where the old stage road crossed.

Paralleling the Fountain Springs—Deer Creek Road and about one-half mile east of it, is a long ridge, beginning on the north in a small rocky hill which slopes upward toward the south to end in a high rock-capped mountain. The Indians called this ridge Sleeping Bear, or *N'hawn Wawyen*, and the north rocky peak was *N'hawn Utaway*, meaning Bear's Head.

From the above point east and north, occupying the northern branch of Tule River, were the *Yaudanchi*. East of Porterville about four miles, and north of Monache Golf Links is a large rocky hill, on the lower slopes of which was once located a granite quarry. Nearby a gulch leads to the level land below. On this gulch was located the Koyeti Yokuts village of *Trawoio* (Traw-oi'-o). This same rocky hill sweeps around to the east and southeast, the surface changing to a dark red rock, ending at the southeast (north center of Section 34, T21S, R28E, MDB&M) in a high, rocky peak which has a few scrub oaks on the northern slope. The Yaudanchi called this high peak *Pahnoski* (Pahn-oh'-ski), meaning Fly's Home.

There was a large Yaudanchi village between the forks of the lower branches of Tule River. It was named *Chamiktu* (Cha'-mik-too).

On Tule River Reservation, about one-half mile below the Soto place on the north side of the creek, was the village of *Pahawuhtin* (Paw-haw'-wuh-tin), meaning Weasel's Hole, because there is a hole in the rock there.

On the north fork of Tule River near Bartlett Park is a very black hill having a long string of black rocks running from it eastward toward the river. It was named *Chowmiktow*, meaning Black Hill. *Ketilmuh* was a Yaudanchi summer village at Camp Nelson on upper Middle Tule River. About two miles north of the Painted Rock at Tule River Indian Reservation is a pointed mountain named *Mowitnuh* (Mow-it'-nuh).

101 103 131 361 The waterfall on South Tule River, just below the Painted Rock, was called *Huhonanshe* (Hoo-ho-nahn'-she). There was once a village there having the same name. Between the forks of Tule River and South Tule is a small round hill which was known as *Tonawuhchin* (To-naw-uh'-chin), meaning Indian Undertaker. A village just below it was known by the same name.

The high rocky butte a little southeast of the Painted Rocks on upper Tule River Indian Reservation was named *Ketelmun* (Ke-teel'-mun). The Painted Rock was called *Hocheu* (Ho-che'-oo). Soda Springs, below the Painted Rock, was known as *Tihtih Ilkow.* A small soda spring, about one-fourth mile below the above Soda Springs, and in the south bank of the river, was called *Ipew.* The large ridge lying between the Painted Rock Fork and Bone Canyon Fork of Tule River was named *Katilmuh.* On the upper portion of Katilmuh was Eagles Spring, or *Trok'-e-lin Ill'-kow.* About a mile above the Painted Rock, near the dam in Tule River, is a place where whirlwinds form. It was named *Sokwin Tindu.*

[776 532 *Soksouh* (Sok-so'-uh) is the name of a bad, supernatural spirit, and was applied to the large figure painted on the ceiling of the Painted Rock at Tule River Indian Reservation. This painting resembles the stretched skin of a mountain lion holding the sun in its mouth.

South of the Yaudanchi, on upper Deer Creek and upon south Tule were the Bokninuwad. Practically nothing is known of this tribe, except that their name means Finders, Keepers.

Further south of the Bokninuwad on upper White River and possibly Rag Gulch were the *Kumachisi* (Koo-mah-che'-se). About two miles above the village of White River, in the stream bed, is a large flat rock about which the Kumachisi Yokuts told an interesting story. The rock was called *Towuhwuts.* About three hundred yards farther up the river, and on the north bank, was the Kumachisi village of *Kelseu.* The Kumachisi village of *Kayte Ilkow* was located where the white village of Woody is now. It was named for the nearby sulphur spring. Kayte Ilkow means Stinking Water.

White people probably adopted the Indian name for Deer Creek, as old Indians have stated that they called it *Hocyin Tultuh,* or Deer Canyon.

Kawlpawpuh was the name of an old Kumachisi village

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Site of the old Indian village of Kowipowpuh (NW¼ of the NE¼ of Section 12, T26S, R30E, MDB&M), named for the wild gourds which grew there in abundance and which the Indian children used for footballs. The site is on Cedar Creek about four miles below Glennville. Many inter-tribal football games were held on this field, players coming from as far away as Tulare Lake, Kings River and Tejon Canyon.

[526]

and game grounds on Cedar Creek about five miles below Glennville (NW ¼ of the NE ¼ of Section 12, T26S, R30E, MDB&M). It was named for the wild gourds which grew there and with which the Indian children played football. About two miles north of the village of White River is a high rocky hill which was named *Waytupkul*.

On upper Grizzly Gulch, about one mile below the Blue Mountain Mine, where the gulch has been dug up by mining, was a Kumachisi village known as *Trahntrahnu*. Grizzly Gulch was known as *N'hawn Tultuh,* meaning the same as the present name. On Grizzly Gulch, just below where the Woody-White River road now crosses, was the Kumachese village of *Wuknaw*.

On Poso Creek there were a number of villages of the *Paleuyami*. In Lynns Valley, on the west branch of Poso Creek, was the village of *Hulmiu*. At Poso Flats, just below the upper forks of Poso Creek, were two Paleuyami villages, on the west side of the creek, *Siketepo* (Sick-e-te'-po) and on the east side, *Bakeu*. Further south, between Poso Creek and Kern River, where their channels approach closest to each other, was

101 the village of *Altau*, now known as Rancheria. On the north
103 bank of Kern River proper, in the extreme south-eastern cor-
131 ner of Paleuyami territory, was situated the village of *Shoko*.

361 On the road leading west, and about three and one-half miles below Woody, in Paleuyami territory, is an old spring named *Chawlul Ilkow*, or White Water. It was used as a stopping place on the old trail which led from Poso Creek via Willow Springs, Coyote Springs and Fountain Springs to Tule River.

415 About a mile below Chawlul Ilkow and within a few feet of the present road there are some flat granite outcroppings which have many Indian mortars cut into them. In the gulch below are some cottonwood and willow trees. The village there was known as *Lapah Ilkow*, or Cottonwood Water. About one-fourth mile south are two large springs. This site was named *Lip'-trow* because of a medicinal root of that name which was harvested there.

487 The old Indian trail from Poso Flats east to Little Poso was known as *Walwalu* (Wahl-wahl'-oo). It lay about one mile southwest of the present road and was parallel to it.

Rag Gulch was called *Baake* (Ba-a'-ke). At a fine spring on lower Rag Gulch, below Willow Springs, was a village of the same name.

Three miles southwest of the Long Tom Mine in Paleuyami territory was a village named *Wahkoiu* (Wah-koy'-oo).

Sansanu (Sahn-sahn'-oo) was the name of the bald ridge west of the junction of Poso and Little Poso. A village at the forks went by the same name. Poso Creek was known as Siketepo. Little Poso Creek was known as *Kawlkalu* (Kawl-kah'-loo). A village at the old Burke Ranch on Little Poso Creek, was known by the same name as the creek. *Hawewel* was a small hill just west of Altau where the Paleuyami mined a red earth paint pigment called *Haweyu*.

South of the Paleuyami, on lower Kern River, and probably as far south at Tejon Ranchos Headquarters, were the Yowlumne (Yowl-um'-ne). On the old channels of Kern River, probably within the present city limits of Bakersfield, was the Yowlumne village of *Woilo*. This tribe is treated more completely in a separate chapter.

On the southeastern shore of Tulare Lake about the mouths of Poso Creek and White River, and occupying the island in that lake which was later known as Atwell Island, were the

Wowol (Wo'-wol). Their principal village, *Sukwutnu* (Sook- 101
woot'-noo), was approximately fifteen miles due west of the 103
present city of Delano. On Atwell Island, present Alpaugh, 131
was the village of *Chawlowin* (Chaw-lo'-win), meaning City of
the Plains. There are probably no other known village-site 361
names of this tribe.

On Kern River, below the Yowlumne, and on Buena Vista and Bull Sloughs leading from Buena Vista Lake past Goose Lake toward Tulare Lake, were the *Tuhohi*.

The northern and eastern shore of Kern Lake was occupied by the *Hometwoli*. Three of their village sites are known. *Loasau* was located on an early channel of Kern River, three miles north of the eastern end of Kern Lake. *Pohalin* was about the same distance south of the eastern end of Kern Lake. *Halau* was on Old River channel, just before it entered Kern Lake Slough, between Kern and Buena Vista Lakes. This was the site of the later Mexican settlement known as La Consuela.

The territory south and west of Buena Vista Lake was occupied by the *Tulamni* tribe. These people ranged as far north as McKittrick, near where the village of *Wogatiu* was situated. At Bitter Water Creek near Taft was the village of *Hoschiu*. At the northwestern point of Buena Vista Lake was their main village, known as *Tulamniu* (Too-lahm'-ne-oo).

This last place is well known as the site excavated during [114]
the winter of 1933-'34 by the Smithsonian Institution. Details of this work are covered in Bulletin 130, Bureau of American Ethnology, titled *Archeological Investigations at Buena Vista Lake, Kern County, California,* by Waldo R. Wedel. Buena Vista Lake was known by the same name as the Buena Vista Hills and the village between the hills and the lake, Tulamniu.

THE RIVER PEOPLE

The dress and habits of primitive people vary largely ac- 184
cording to the nature of the country in which they live and the animal and plant life upon which they must subsist. It is readily recognized not only that the Eskimo was forced to dress more warmly than the Yokuts Indians, but also that he had available many materials from which to prepare clothing not available to San Joaquin Valley tribes. The same thing might also be said about the food of the two peoples. To a lesser degree the Yokuts tribes themselves differed according to the

133 the lake shore might move back to its original position and the
whole tribe would again move with it.

It is of interest to compare some of the characteristics of the river and lake types of culture and see from that comparison how the nature of the territory itself affected not only the habits but the dress and food of those people.

184 The lake Indians lived principally upon clams, fish, water
[262] fowl, seeds, and tule roots and were rather despised by the river
tribes. The most of their baskets and other equipment, including
[285] baby cradles, were made of tule fiber. They also used
[281] rabbit skins to a much greater extent than did the river tribes.
They wandered about considerably, having few permanent village sites, following the lake shore in their migrations. They blended closely into their surroundings. "Uncle Bud" Akers, who went to Tulare Lake in 1854 and who knew those Indians as long as they lived in that locality, furnished the following description of them and their surroundings:

136 "Most of the game in the San Joaquin Valley was about
the same color as the brush and grass that grew there. In the
137 summer the dry grass turned the plains a light brown or tan
color. The salt weeds and brush which grew about the lakes had a light, silvery grey color. The dry tules surrounding the lakes and streams were a light brown, or tan, and hid the green tules which grew in the water. A band of elk or antelope were almost invisible against this tan background, and they knew it. If they were near grass or tule cover they would sometimes keep perfectly quiet. Sometimes we would ride past them without seeing them. A jack rabbit would crouch under a tumble weed until you were within three feet of it before it would bolt and run, or before you saw it.

"The Indian camps were also hard to see until you were
361 close to them. The Indians piled salt weed and brush or tules
[343 on an elevated framework to make a shade. They also made a
342] sort of tent-house of tules. Several times I have almost passed
within fifty yards of these structures without seeing them.

"In their native dress the lake Indians were themselves
291 about as well protected from sight as was the game. In the fall
281 and winter they wore rabbit skin capes and hoods. The women
wore skirts made of tules or rabbit skin. Sometimes they made these articles of the skins of ducks or geese with the feathers on. The men wore deerskin breech clouts that were about the same color as rabbit skin.

101 tendencies. It is entirely in keeping with what is known of
184 primitive cultures that this should be characteristic of a plains
people. Only one who has been afoot upon the broad San Joaquin Plains before the days of well water can appreciate the tremendous importance of a horse to such people.

251 During the time when salmon were running they undoubt-
226 edly stored up considerable supplies of the dried flesh of these
● [361] fish and it is probable that they had permanent villages upon
the eastern bank of the San Joaquin River, where fishing was carried on at all times.

From the San Joaquin River to the Sierra foothills was a
133 distance of about thirty miles, all of which was dry and barren plains that made quite difficult the problem of gathering and transporting acorns during the ~~season in~~ which they were ripe.

224 The antelope surround was probably a regular practice among these people, as was quite likely also the jack rabbit drive. Consequently the plains tribes used rabbit and antelope skins to a considerable extent. Their equipment was of a more
[184] mobile nature than that of the river tribes, but was constructed of materials somewhat similar.

136 The plains lying between the San Joaquin River and the Sierra foothills were roamed by countless antelope. There were many elk along the river. But the hunting of these animals
[224] was a very uncertain venture when the hunter was afoot. There was no more valuable aid for which the Chauchila Indians might have wished than a horse. As a consequence, when the Spanish first came with horses and when the American explorers and
[68 settlers arrived, they soon came to call these people "the horse-
101] thief Indians."

The following quotation from Frémont's *Memoirs* will give
175 the reader a definite idea of the behavior of these people. This account shows very clearly how similar in behavior were the plains people of the San Joaquin to those of the Great Plains of the middle west:

"December 19, 1845. In a few hours we reached a beauti-
[133] ful country of undulating upland, openly wooded with oaks, principally evergreen, and watered with small streams which together make the *Mariposas* River.

"Continuing along we came upon broad and deeply-worn
[487] trails which had been freshly traveled by large bands of horses, apparently coming from the San Joaquin Valley. But we heard enough to know that they came from the settlements on

Yowlumne

[P. 44 not Processed]

CHAPTER II

THE YOWLUMNE

YOWLUMNE GEOGRAPHY

101 One of the most interesting of all tribes of Yokuts Indians
131 was the *Yowlumne* (Yowl-um'-ne). Their range was in every
direction from their central village, *Woilu,* located about where
now stands the Santa Fe passenger station in Bakersfield.
Along Kern River their upstream limits were about where the
second electrical power house is located in Kern Canyon. Their
[224] downstream limits were on the plains at about the Pioneer Wier
and Pioneer Bridge on Kern River. The Yowlumne hunted
antelope, rabbits and squirrels on the hills as far north as
Poso Creek. To the south they ranged to the shore of Kern
Lake south of present Greenfield. To the southeast they ranged
to within a few miles of the present Tejon Ranchos Headquarters.

[133] The most noted Yowlumne landmark was at the mouth of
Kern Canyon, where the waters of Kern River make a slight
[103] fall. This place was known as *Kaw'-naw Ill'-kin,* or Place
Where the Water Falls. It was a noted fishing place.

● 361 There was a Yowlumne village, *Wawcoye* (Waw-coy'-e),
103 on the south bank of Kern River just below the mouth of Cottonwood Creek. This is still a beautiful site, well shaded by
[415] sycamores. It can be recognized by the many mortars, cut
into the granite boulders. These mortars are scattered from
the bridge at the old Rio Bravo Rancho, now often called the
Olcese Ranch, almost to the mouth of Cottonwood Creek.

Tesinliu was a Yowlumne village located on the north bank of Kern River northeast of the foot of China Grade. *Shoko* was the most easterly Yowlumne village. It was in Kern Canyon. The name means Windy Place. The Yowlumne village at Tejon Ranchos Headquarters, most southerly of their settlements, was named *Tinliu,* meaning Hole. *Pohalin Tinliu,* Squirrel Hole Place, was a Yowlumne village on the southeast shore of now extinct Kern Lake.

On the north side of Kern River, and beginning just below the bridge at the Rio Bravo Rancho, another Yowlumne Indian village straggled downstream for about a mile. It was named *Hawsu.*

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

Yowlumne

175 It was just above this last village that the noted Padre, Francisco Garcés, crossed Kern River. According to the entries in his diary, on May 1, 1776, he came down Cottonwood Creek until he could hear Kern River roaring out of the canyon. The Indians would not allow him to attempt to cross the river at that point. Present day visitors to the site can appreciate the judgment of the Indians in giving Garces such advice. They led him downstream until "in a little while" they passed an [361] Indian village (Wawcoye) and could see another village across the river on the north bank. There the Yowlumne Indians helped Garcés cross the river. The exact point of crossing is undoubtedly about one hundred yards upstream from the county road bridge at the Rio Bravo Rancho. The streambed there is almost solid granite and has certainly changed [487] little or none in several centuries. Since the first permanent white settlers came to Kern River that site has been a favorite fording place.

361 Villages down stream from those at the Rio Bravo Rancho were located a short distance above the Discovery Well on the 103 Means Ranch, (NW ¼ of Section 35, T28S, R28E, MDB&M). The village on the south side of the river was near the weir known as *The First Point of Measurement*. About two miles upstream from this point, on the north side of the river, was the village of *Tsinchiu* (Tsin-e-he'-oo).

The next villages of which we have definite knowledge were within the limits of the present City of Bakersfield. According to information obtained from aged Yowlumne Indians, there were two villages where the river ran close to a high knoll. One of these villages, *Woilu*, was on the knoll itself, and the other was across the river to the west.

It appears certain that both of these villages were between 361 the present Santa Fe passenger station at Sixteenth and F 172 streets and the Mercy Hospital at Sixteenth and C streets. When the first white settlers arrived where Bakersfield is now, there was a large mound at this location. In later years a man named Reeder built a house on it and the mound became known as Reeder Hill. The mound was almost completely removed when the Santa Fe Railway was constructed through Bakersfield. Trainloads of sandy soil were hauled from the mound to build the railroad grade in both directions from Bakersfield. In this work many hundreds of stone mortars and pestles and Indian skeletons were uncovered.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

Yowlumne

Before it was disturbed by white people, Reeder Hill extended 361 diagonally across where the present Santa Fe passenger 172 station is located from about the center of the court yard between the High School shops, to the intersection of Sixteenth and D streets. A branch of Kern River ran close by the west end of Reeder Hill. It actually came almost to the intersection of Truxtun Avenue and A streets.

When Colonel Thomas Baker came to the site of present 361 Bakersfield in 1863, a large group of Yowlumne Indians lived in the two villages, one on each side of the river at the west end of Reeder Hill. The late Thomas A. Baker told me that his father, Colonel Thomas Baker, for whom the City of Bakersfield is named, often sent him down to Reeder Hill to bring Indians to work at their home. This log home stood near the intersection of Nineteenth and M streets. These Indians, the most willing often being men, made gardens, washed clothes, [464] scrubbed floors, mended clothes, cut firewood, cared for chil- [357] dren and did all sorts of housework. They were the first baby sitters in Bakersfield.

Other Yowlumne villages and camping sites were scattered about the plains near where Bakersfield is now located. But they were not permanent villages, as the Indians were forced to move when high water flooded the plains adjoining the sloughs and branches of Kern River, and also when the flow of Kern River switched from one slough or branch to another.

Soon after white people began to settle on the site of present Bakersfield, the Yowlumne began calling the locality [103] *Wawlu,* meaning Planting Place. This was because the white settlers began planting crops.

THE YOWLUMNE INDIANS

The *Yowlumne* were a typical Yokuts group. Their 101 language was almost identical with that of nearby Yokuts 181 tribes. They were, like the rest, a happy, friendly, dependable people. The first settlers on lower Kern River found it perfectly safe to to take them into their pioneer homes to perform housework of all kinds. This was true of both men and women, [462] for often the Yowlumne men did washing, dishwashing and the scrubbing of floors as willingly as did the women.

At this time, 1949, there are two full-blood Yowlumne In- 161 dians still living. This will come as a surprise to some readers,

Yowlumne

101 131 foodstuffs and minerals well within their recognized boundaries.

622 361 Each Yokuts tribe was ruled by a Chief. He lived at the principal, or head village. In Yowlumne territory this was *Woilu,* on Reeder Hill, where now stands the Santa Fe passenger depot in Bakersfield. The next important Yowlumne village, *Tesinliu,* was located on the north bank of Kern River about three miles above the Discovery Well of the Kern River Oilfield. The third most important village was on the south side of Kern River just above the old Rio Bravo Rancho, now known as the Olecese place. The chiefs at the two upstream villages were responsible to the head chief at Reeder Hill.

Yokuts villages were almost always located on well traveled trails and sometimes at a point where two trails crossed. Important villages on rivers were often at a ford, or easy crossing, where a trail following the hills crossed another following the river. This was true of the village on Reeder Hill and the one between the Rio Bravo Rancho and the mouth of Cottonwood Creek.

624 576 The chiefs of these villages placed a *Winatun,* or private secretary, at a point where trails entered the village. It was the responsibility of the Winatun to meet all approaching travelers, to learn who they were, what was their business, and, if possible, to give them what information was necessary and send them on their way. If the traveler was not so easily disposed of, it was then the duty of the Winatun to conduct him to the chief. After the interview it was the duty of the Winatun to conduct the traveler to the edge of the village and bid him goodbye.

This practice is still carried on at the camps or villages of of remaining Yokuts Indians. After having visited Indian camps and having gathered data from aged Indians for more than twenty-five years, this writer finds this feature one of the most pleasing Yokuts characteristics. It makes a visitor feel welcome to have someone appear and pass the time of day as he drives his car up to an Indian door. If he has time, the young man who is elected as a greeting committee of one will open any gates that are closed.

796 574 The Yowlumne periodically performed a ceremony that can be classed as a snake dance. Live rattlesnakes were used and were handled by snake doctors, or special medicine men. Yokuts came to this dance from neighboring tribes as far away

487 439 Her verbatim account of such trade is reproduced in Chapter XIII near the end of this volume.

Ichow, a full-blood *Wukchumne,* quoted freely in this work, stated: "Some of our men go to coast to trade, go over the mountains to Owens Lake to trade. They go across to coast by where Coalinga is now. They go across the mountains from Tule River across Kern River where white people built that Jordan Trail. My grandpa, *Chechin* (Che'-chin), told me about that. His father used to trade at them places. From here he take deer skins, antelope skins, elk skins, *kadis* (kay'-dis) [steatite], *ahdit* [salt from saltgrass], and good baskets over to them Indians at Owens Lake. He bring back lots of fine *kots* [obsidian] to make good arrow point and some salt like white people use. He sell that kots and that salt here for our money and buy more things to trade."

The most interesting account I have been able to secure concerning Yokuts traders came from *Wahumchah,* one of the last two living full-blood *Yowlumne* Yokuts. For two generations back, his direct male ancestors were traders. His father was born at the Yowlumne village of *Woilu* on the site of present Bakersfield. He explained the position of traders in his tribe. Said Wahumchah, "My father told me he was born right ●[361] where Bakersfield is now. His people had two villages there, one on each side river. One was on high knoll close by river. It was my father's business to trade and to run anywhere his 487 *Teah* (Te'-ah) [Chief] wanted him to go. He was *Winatun* 439 [Messenger]. Sometimes them people let fire go out in one 624 village. Then someone had to make new fire with two sticks. Fire most always went out when it rained. Then everything 372 was wet and it was hard to start new fire. Then my father would swim river and get fire from other village. If fire went out in other village he had swim across and take fire to them. That was his business.

[482] "When my father carried fire he put it on top his head. He put some ashes on piece buckskin. Then he put some red coals [481] on ashes. He cover coals with ashes. Then he roll that buckskin up and tie it on top his head and swim across river. Sometimes them coals get pretty hot on his head. They burn him pretty bad. Most time he got his hair burned off top his head. [551] So Yowlumne call my father *Oi'-oi,* Roadrunner, because in [773] them old timers' stories Oioi stole fire and carried it across the river just like my father did."

342 slender branches, fourteen to sixteen inches apart, extended from eighteen to twenty feet above the level of the surrounding ground. Next a green oak pole or shoot was bent upon itself and lashed together, forming a hoop probably thirty inches in diameter. The tips of the standing poles were pulled together at the top and lashed to this hoop.

Then other poles were bent around this frame-work parallel with the ground and lashed to the upright poles by means of bark or milk weed fiber cord. These horizontal pieces were spaced from twelve to eighteen inches apart. By this time the house resembled very much a rustic or wicker-work affair, roughly semi-spherical in shape. It had a circular opening at the top and a rectangular door, facing the south and probably two feet wide by five feet high.

361 As these houses were almost invariably built along the shores of streams or lakes, an abundance of tule was available, and a tule thatch was laid on top of this frame work. The larger ends of the tules were placed against the ground on the outside of the frame work and lay with their tips extending into the opening at the top. When first applied, the thatch was probably from six to twelve inches in thickness.

Then the loose soil, which had been removed from the excavation, was thrown on top of the tule thatch. It formed a sod covering, varying in thickness from three or four inches at the circular opening at the top to probably several feet at the level with the surrounding ground. We are informed that in some instances the tules were first covered with a layer of mud approximately three or four inches in thickness. The writer is inclined to believe that this was the practice at many places. The evidence indicating such practice exists in old house pits in the form of fired clay which shows upon one side very plainly the marks of the tules and small branches.

The heavy earth covering compacted the tules until they were probably about an inch in thickness and by these tules was kept from falling through into the house below.

As most of the houses were destroyed by fire, the mud covering hardened and fell into the pit below. The floors of several old house remains have been found to be covered with such debris.

At the doorway, an inclined floor led from the level of the floor of the house to the level of the surrounding ground, the house being entered much as one would enter a shallow cellar

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Weh-puk'-in and Na'-we-un showing the interior of a Yokuts tule-thatched house and a bed. A shallow pit is filled with loose tules and covered with a tule mat. Covers consist of a doubled rabbit-skin blanket. Hanging from the house frame is a twined and a tule chewmish, or all-purpose hanging baskets. The large basket at the left shows kots, or obsidian arrow point. The one at the front right shows quail, arrow point and ants.

and meats and fish were suspended from the framework of the house overhead. In addition to these things was the usual collection of wild animal skins, prepared basketry materials, fiber for making string, and any amount of other raw materials from which were to be prepared the various articles necessary to the life of the Indians.

"At every permanent village occupied by two or three hundred Indians, there were probably from four or five to as many as a dozen of these larger semi-permanent houses. They were usd for ten or twelve years, or until there was a death in the family, at which time the Indians burned the house in which the death occurred." 342 361● 162 768

Often a sick or aged person was carried outside to die, so that it would not be necessary to burn the house. In 1937, *Ichow,* last Chief of the *Wukchumne,* died of dropsy after several days of exposure under a broiling July sun, because he 342 888 763

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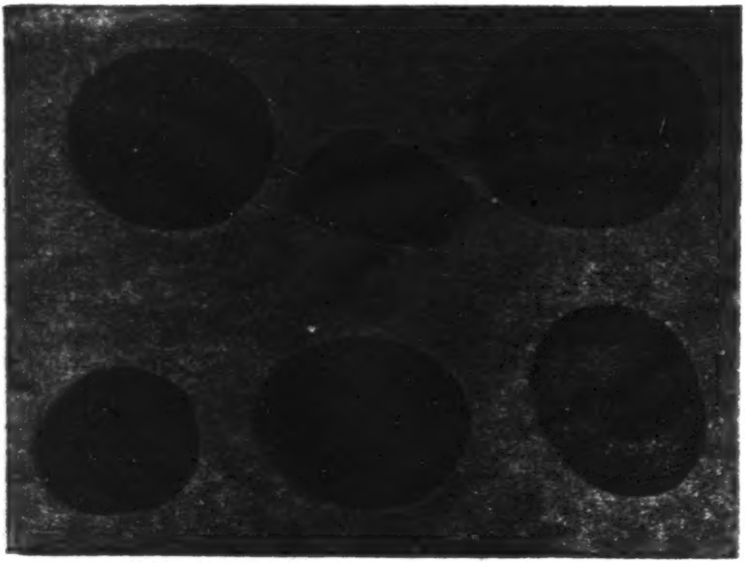

It was probably because the Yokuts had access to several deposits of steatite that they did not develop the art of pottery making. The above steatite cooking vessels were placed directly in the fire. Top center and lower left are frying pans. Top left and right are large closed pots, holding about three gallons and used for boiling and stewing. The two lower right are shallow, open cooking vessels. Aged Yokuts have stated that meat, greens, acorns, mushrooms and other fungi were cooked in such vessels.

had been taken sick in a white man's house and the family knew they could not burn it.

361 In many places where cultivation has not destroyed them, the remains of these houses are even yet to be found along the banks of streams and lakes throughout the entire San Joaquin Valley. At one village site near what was once the northwestern shore of Tulare Lake and described in a former chapter, the writer just a few days before this manuscript went to press counted the ruins of more than twenty of these houses.

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342 During the acorn and other seed seasons, with the exception of a few old persons, the Indians were likely to leave the permanent village and live for a month or more at temporary camp sites near the ripening seeds. Consequently, during the major portion of the time, when the most of the Indian population was

abroad gathering foodstuffs, the Indians lived in crude shelters, 221
or huts, more than they did in permanent houses. 342

When the salmon were running in the San Joaquin River 221
the Yokuts migrated to that place. During the season when
millions of wild ducks and geese entered the valley, the Yokuts
were to be found about the sloughs and swamps snaring them
and shooting them with their bows and arrows, gorging them- [251]
selves upon the fresh meat, and drying much of it to be carried
many miles across the plains to the permanent villages.

The arrangement of the village was not as haphazard as 361
we might be led to suppose. There were some rules governing
the arrangement of the camp. These rules might be likened to
some of our town and city ordinances. The Headman, or
Chief, of the tribe was likely to occupy the most desirable location.
The sweat house, which has already been described in detail,
was located down stream from the rest of the village. This 361
was due to the fact that care was taken not to polute the
streams above the village. An Indian would be careful in 364
wading across the stream above the village. Bathing and
washing were generally done at or below the sweat house.

At least one writer, Steven Powers, and several pioneer 361
whites, as well as aged Yokuts Indians, have stated that the
plains and lake houses were built and arranged with almost 114
military uniformity. When several houses stood near each
other they were erected in a straight line which approximated
a row of houses in a pioneer white town.

At every village several fires were kept going in the open, 361
day and night. A hole several feet across and a foot or more
in depth contained burning coals and cooking rocks. Into this 364
fire pit was thrown all sorts of camp refuse. A pile of dry
wood lay nearby. In at least some camps there were rules that
the kitchen refuse and the offal from freshly killed game must
be disposed of in this family fire-pit. Deer and large game was
generally dressed in the field, the carcass being carried to the
camp by the men who killed it. There it was taken in hand by
the women.

In well organized tribes a stranger was not allowed to enter 609
an Indian village unattended. At the lower and upper limits of
the village were situated *Winatuns* (messengers) whose busi- 624
ness it was to meet strangers and conduct them to the chief or 576
head man and to run all sorts of errands for him.

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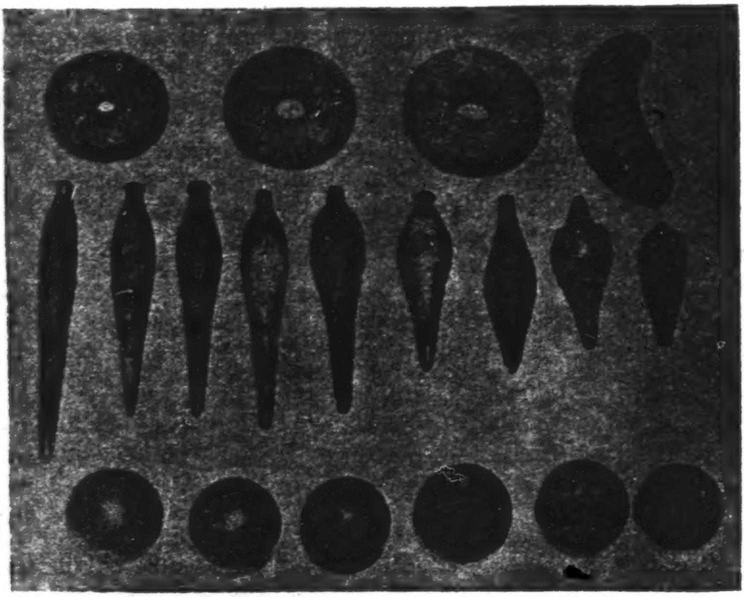

Top left are three perforated stones used in ceremonials and as game stones. At right is a crescent shaped stone, reported as having been used in a girls' adolescence ceremony. Center are charm stones. The one at the extreme right was found near Mountain View, Santa Clara County. The eight stones at the left were found in a "nest" at the Harris mound, six miles west of Tulare. Bottom row shows six stone footballs, found buried together under an oak tree on Kings River Island near Laton.

diameter and had a hole in the center about an inch in diameter.

"This game was played principally by the young men. It was a much quieter game than the disc game, but was scored in the same way. They shot wooden pointed arrows at the stone as it passed by.

[412] "This same stone was used to straighten their arrows and their shafts for gigging fish."

MISCELLANEOUS GAMES

● 361 In addition to the statement made by Mayfield concerning the Indian game courts, we are assured by other pioneers
526 who lived near the Indians during the early settlement of the San Joaquin Valley, as well as by old Indians themselves, that

a gaming court was maintained at each village site. As has already been described, this court generally consisted of a smooth, level place, free from rocks and generally covered with a thin layer of fine sand. From numerous remains over the valley it is known that the court was longer than it was wide. Remains of such courts have been found which were fifteen to thirty feet in width and from twenty to sixty yards in length. 526 361

Upon these courts a number of games were played. Some of the games were participated in by old and young. Some were played by men only, and some played by children only. The writer has heard of no Yokuts athletic type game played exclusively by women. 526

Pioneers in the vicinity of Hanford and Lemoore have said that the Indians played a game upon these courts which resembled very much the white man's game of pitch-penny. Circular thin rocks were pitched at a line. The writer has been able to find no data concerning this game and is of the opinion that it was an imitation of the practice of soldiers and whites of pitching money at a line.

Another game consisted of rolling round rocks at a hole in the ground and resembled the "purgatory" game played with marbles by white boys.

A typical children's game was called *Mohoo* (Mo-ho'-o), meaning Bear game. The game began with one child, who was called Mohoo or bear, pursuing the rest of the players.

As soon as Mohoo was able to catch or touch one of the other players, that person also became a bear and helped to catch the rest. This was carried on until the last person was caught. This person became bear for the next game. It was considered an honor to be caught last and also to be the bear for the succeeding game. In playing this game the children ran about the rancheria, climbed upon houses, into trees, and even plunged across the river.

Another similar game was played entirely in the water, and called *Huwidwush* (Hoo-wid'-wush). It was really the bear game, engaged in while the youngsters were swimming, and was a game of water tag. Swimming races took place between the bear and his opponents. Diving, remaining under water, and other methods were used to elude the pursuing bear. [481]

It is unfortunate that a great deal of information concerning the Yokuts games will probably never be forth-coming, for the reason that those Indians were thoroughly disturbed by the

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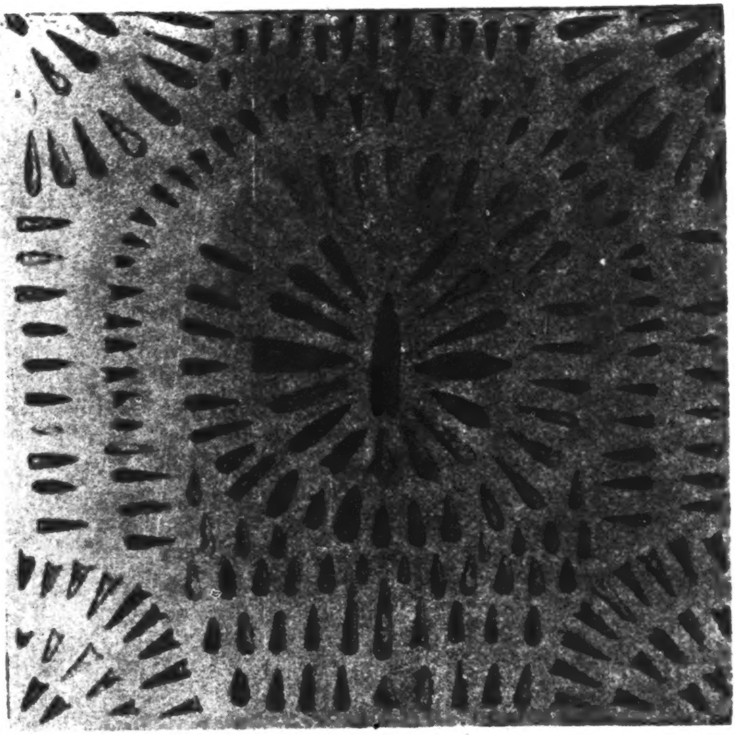

Above are shown typical Yokuts arrow and spear points, chipped from chalcedony and obsidian. They are from a burial mound about two miles north of Tupman in the range of the Tuhohi Yokuts.

quick, accurate understanding and was able to furnish 3000 words for an English-Chunut dictionary in less time than I had ever collected one before, covering two dialects at the same time, the Chunut of her father and the Wowol of her mother. She could read, write and speak Spanish and English, as well as talk six Yokuts dialects.

Interesting as is Yoimut's story, there is room here for only a portion of it, presented in the following eight sketches, the original language of which has been changed very little:

159 I was born at the old *Telumne* (Tay'-lum-ne) village of
361 *Watot Shulul* (Wa'-tot Shoo-lool) just northwest of the old

sugar factory about a mile south-east of Visalia. This was the 159 real old Telumne head village. When I was a little girl there I [361] knew the last chief of that tribe. His name was *Nahalets* (Nah-ha'-leets). White people called him Joaquin. His wife was *Hawtulu* (Haw-too'-loo, meaning Hoot-owl). They were the head people there when I was born.

My father's name was *Po'-kah-sah'*. He was born at the old Chunut village called *Mih-ka'-et* just south of the mouth of [361] Tule River. I believe the white people call that place Turnbull. It was about a mile above the old Turnbull house. At Mihkaet my people used to surround antelope and kill them. We call them *suey'-yohl*. My father died when I was about six years old, but my mother showed me the place two or three times.

My mother was *Te-ta-we'-cot*. She was born at the old [361] Wowol village of *Chawlawin* on Atwell Island where Alpaugh is now. *Wocoiyu* (Wo-coi'-you), my mother's father, was chief of the *Wowol* tribe. When he died his oldest brother was chief. This brother's name was *Teh-nih'-pahs*. After I was grown he died at *Sulawlahne* (Soo-law-lah'-ne), the "Fish" Rice Rancheria, four miles south of Farmersville. I learned much about my old-time people from him. He was my good uncle.

When I was a little girl at Watot Shulul there was a big log fence around the old house at the Blankenship ranch just southeast of us. They were afraid of the Indians. We used to laugh at this, for we used to work for the Blankenships and we knew our people would never hurt them.

There was a young Indian girl working for Mrs. Blankenship. Once they could not find her. They looked for a long time. They found her dead and covered up with dirt and leaves. Some of our people saw a white man take her from where she was washing. We were afraid to say anything about it. He was bad man. He killed lots of Indians and he would have killed us if we had told Mr. Blankenship. We have always been sure that the white man killed her.

I have heard my mother and lots of other Indians tell about the log fence in Visalia, too, but I never saw it. The white people built it because they were afraid of the Indians. It was torn down before I was old enough to remember.

When I was about seven years old the Indians all got sick 159 at Watot Shulul. Lots of them died. They had measles. The 164 Telumne tribe was all broken up. The chief, Nahalets, died

159 and all of the Indians left the place. This was just after the
164 big water that the white people call sixty-two [flood of 1862].
They never lived at Watot Shulul again.

Nahalets' wife, *Hawtulu*, and a few of her people went to
159 the old *Nutunutu* (Noo-too'-noo-too) village on the Burris
ranch at Kings River. The chief there was *Pah-ko'-ake*. I knew him for a long time. Hawtulu died there when she was an old lady.

My people went to the old village at the "Fish" Rice Rancheria south of Farmersville. There my father took sick and died. We buried him there.

Just a few months before I was born my father and mother
[103 lived at the old Chunut village of *Heuumne* (He-oo-um'-ne)
361] about four miles south of Waukena. This was the place where the big ditch is south of the Artesia school and where Mr. Sweet had the slaughter house. Mother had one child, a little boy. His name was *Wehpes* (Weh'-pees). White people called him Bill Foster.

While my parents were living there [1854], soldiers on
159 horseback came to take them with all of the other Lake
648 Indians to the Fresno River Indian Reservation. None of the Indians wanted to go. But the soldiers hunted until they found most of the Indians. The soldiers beat the Indians with whips and hit them with their swords and ran their horses over them when they would not go. Some Indians were shot because they ran away. My mother said she saw twelve Indians killed. The rest had to go anyway.

It took about ten days to get all of the Indians together. The soldiers did not let them take time to carry any grub. Then it took four days to drive them to Fresno River Reservation. My mother and father both went. They carried little Wehpes all of the way. He was about two years old.

All this time the Indians only had a few things to eat. They ate a few mussels from the river and a few tule roots. Some Indians caught a few salmon along the San Joaquin river and ate them raw like they did the mussels and tule roots. About ten Indians died on the way. Three or four babies were born along the way.

When they got to Fresno River Indian Reservation there was nothing there to eat. The soldiers killed some cows and gave the Indians some acorns that had been gathered for two or three years and were eaten by worms.

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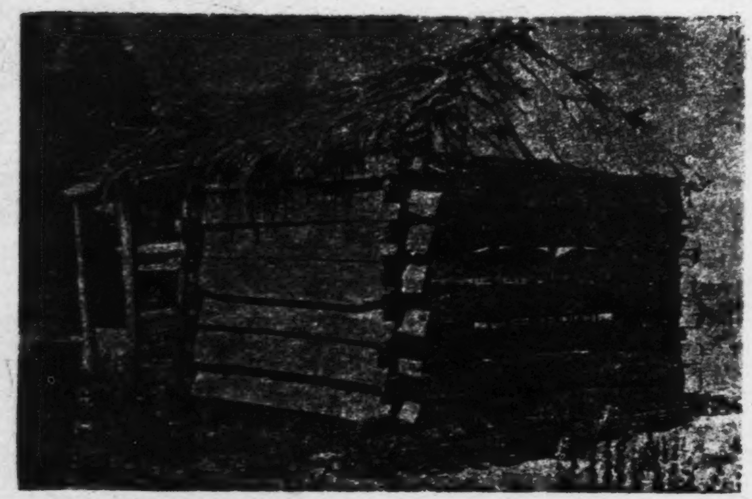

Split puncheon log fort built about six miles east of Visalia as protection against the Indians at the beginning of the Indian War of 1856. Colonel Thomas Baker, founder of both Visalia and Bakersfield, outfitted at this fort at the beginning of that war.

My father and mother were at Fresno River Reservation about two or three months. Then some of the soldiers took them to Fort Tejon. A wagon hauled some grub along, but the Indians walked all of the way. About fifty Indians went on this trip.

There were soldiers at Fort Tejon. It was not up in the mountains but was on the Tejon Ranch, west of the Headquarters. My father and mother worked awhile at Fort Tejon, but they did not like it there. None of our people liked it. They all wanted to go back to Tulare Lake.

Lots of the Indians sneaked away in the night, so one night, as soon as it got dark, my father and mother left. They went along the foothills and hid every day until they came to the Kaweah river. Then they came down to Watot Shulul, where Visalia is now. In a few days I was born. It was about a year after the soldiers took my father and mother from the old village south of the Buzzard's Roost at Waukena [1855]. My father and mother stayed at Watot Shulul until after the big sickness [measles], when all of the Indians left. My mother washed and my father cut wood for the Blankenships.

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159 a piece of green oak limb bent round like a ring. You could
never see these houses in the tules until you came right to them.

342 The worst thing about the tumlus house was the lake.
[361] They always were close to the water and the ground was wet.
When the wind blew, the lake water would come into them.

Once I went with my mother to *Chaw-lo'-win,* on Atwell's Island where Alpaugh is now. I was about ten years old. While we were there we lived in a tumlus house. I did not like it. When we did not have a fire the mosquitoes came in so thick you could not see the smoke hole.

One night when we were all asleep, the north wind began to blow. Nobody waked up until the water began to come into the house. We got out as fast as we could, but the water was up to my knees before we left the house.

I was at Alpaugh a long time afterward and I think the
houses were almost where the town is now. They were on the
north edge of the sand ridge. The old-time regular village was
[361] farther south on the south side of the sand ridge where White
River came in.

When we were in the tumlus houses it was all tules right down to the water. We had just narrow trails through the high tules. The lake was high then after the sixty-two [1862] high water. It was before the sixty-eight [1868] high water. I remember this. I know both high waters.

There were ten or twelve houses where we stayed. A few
[361] of my mother's people had gone back there to live. They
thought they could stay there. But the white people already
had hogs there and the Indians had to leave as soon as the
water went down a little.

159 The regular house that the Chunut and *Wowol* (Wo'wol)
had was called *Che*. It was a long tule house. It was made so
342 they could take it down quick. I lived in one of the long tule
592 houses two or three years on Kings river near the Ezra ranch.
They were a good house. They were cool in summer. You
could open them up in a minute and get the cool breeze. In the
cold weather they had lots of fires inside to keep them warm.

Eight or ten families lived in the Che, tule house. It was like a long tent. They had no partitions. It was open inside all the way along. There were fires all along the middle. When they were all roasting ducks or fish in the winter, the house would be full of smoke. It was nice to live in a house like that. If you did not like some family you lived in the other part of

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Wihlalitch sang over and over: 533

O-home'-ah Trip'-ih-ne 539
(I am supernatural)
O-home'-ah Trip'-ih-ne
O-home'-ah Trip'-ih-ne

Tim'-tim, the bat, heard Wihlalitch singing. He was jealous because he wanted to be Tripne, too. So he sang back:

O-home!-ah Trip'-ih-ne
O-home!-ah Trip'-ih-ne
O-home!-ah Trip'-ih-ne
Nah-ah'-hah Trip-ih-ne

The song of *Tim-tim,* the bat, meant, "You are not magic. You are of the ground. I am magic. I am of the air."

YOIMUT'S STORY
YOKUTS LAKE LIFE

When I was about ten years old my mother married again. 159
Her husband had relatives at *Waiu,* the village where Santa 103
Rosa Rancheria is now near Armona, at the Tejon Ranch, and 361
at Tule River Reservation. My mother did not want to stay 587
at *Soo-law-lahn'-ne* on the "Fish" Rice ranch any longer, so we
all went over to Armona.

This was while the soldiers were at Visalia and the white 159
people were having a big war. My stepfather's brother had 361
two small horses and a little wagon. He worked for Mr. Rice
for two or three years to buy them. He took us to Armona.
We all stayed at Armona for about one month.

None of us liked it at Armona then. There were lots of [578]
Tachi there and we knew it was their place and that we did not
belong there. So my stepfather and his brother took us to the
lake to fish and camp for awhile.

We drove to the mouth of Cross Creek. There about six of 159
us, my mother and stepfather, my brother *Weh'-pees,* myself, 166
my stepfather's brother and an Indian who belonged at
Armona. We camped at Cross Creek for a week. Then we 361
moved around to the Buzzard's Roost. This was a real old
Chunut village where my mother had once lived for a few
months when she was first married. I am not sure about the [103]
name of this place, but it was either *Heuumne* (He-oo-um'-ne)
or *Chuntow* (Choon'-tow). Both places were close together. I
think it was Heuumne.

159 166 361 This was a fine place to camp. I have been there since and know it was close to the Artesia school house where the steamboat used to land. The white people built a big canal right by the camp and Mr. Sweet had a slaughter house there the last time I was there.

[342] There used to be a big village there, so my mother told me. When we went there we saw lots of old, tumble-down dirt houses. I never saw any other dirt houses. Two of those houses were good, so we put our things in them.

We had a fine time at this place and my mother and step-father decided to make a home there and stay there all of the time. There were lots of fish in the creek and the lake was right close, I think not more than a half mile away. The village had belonged to my father's people, so we thought we had a right to stay there.

[251] My step-father and his brother caught lots of fish and we dried the meat. We fixed up the two dirt houses so we could live in them and we all felt as happy as could be. There were no other Indians there but the ones I told about.

159 166 648 We were at the camp about three months, until summer was almost over. Then some men came along gathering cattle. It was Pat Murray from Porterville and some of his vaqueros. He camped there for two or three days.

Pat Murray was mad at us. He told us we would have to get out and stay out. There was a Tule River Indian with Murray. He was a vaquero. He told us that Murray would kill us if we did not get out. He said that Murray was afraid we would kill his cattle.

We had not killed any of the cattle. There were lots of them around the Buzzard's Roost, but we had not killed even a calf. We would never kill them.

We felt very bad about this. Murray went away and we stayed about one week more. We felt so bad we did not talk to each other for two or three days. Then my step-father talked. He had been out fishing with his brother and when he came in he said they had decided to go to the Tejon ranch where some of his people lived.

I have always been sorry that we left Heuumne, because Mr. Blankenship told us afterward that we did not have to leave. He said that Pat Murray had no right to run us off. He did not own that place. Mr. Blankenship said that we should

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have gone to see Mr. Crossmore, who had the right to that 648
place. But we never knew it then, so we left.

The three men and my mother had worked about a week 159
making a tule boat to fish from. We children had helped by 166
carrying tules. It was a real good boat. They had fished from 501
it a lot. The boat was about twenty-five feet long and eight
feet wide. It was made of tules like the old-time Indians used 396
to make them. They made it on the ground at the edge of the
water. We called it *Tutoi* (too'-toi).

The tules were just tied into small bundles as long as the boat and about six inches through at the middle. The ends were pointed. A lot of these tule bundles were tied together. They made a big boat about three feet high. I think it took about twenty small bundles.

An extra bundle was tied along the top on each side so things would not lose off of the boat. The ends of the tule boat were higher than the middle.

In the middle of the boat a hole was made to spear fish 159
through. It was a small hole about a foot across. We called 501
it *kot-la'-um*. At the front end of the boat was a hole where
they put the fish and ducks they caught out on the lake. It was
about three feet square and a half foot deep. The men used to
bring this place in full of fish and ducks. This hole was lined
with tules woven together like a basket. We called it *traw-trawk'-oi*.

At the back end of the boat was another hole filled with [354]
mud. They built a fire on this mud and cooked fish and ducks
while they were out on the lake. We called the fireplace
tri-ahn'-cut.

Sometimes they stayed out on the lake fishing for three or 159
four days. When they stayed out a long time on the raft they 226
used to cut the fish open and smoke them over the fire and lay 251
them on the raft to dry. When they came in the fish were al-
most dried. They used to cut the meat off the ducks and dry
it the same way. They used long poles to move the raft around. [500]
We called these poles *iyahish* (i-yah'-ish).

When they came in with the boat we would all help to pull 159
it up on the bank to dry out. When it would dry out it was very 501
light. This boat carried all of us very easily. I think it would
have taken that many more people.

Finally my stepfather changed his mind. He decided to go 159
across the lake on the boat to *Chaw-lo'-win* on Atwell's Island. 166
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166 Some *Wowol* Indians at Armona told us that some Wowol were
484 living again on Atwell's Island. So we were going to them
361 across the lake on our boat.

If we went around with the team we had to leave our boat
159 and take the Tachi Indian home. So my step-father's brother
166 took the Tachi home and then took the team and wagon around
484 to the mouth of Deer Creek, where we were to meet him about
a week later.

I remember that we got ready to go and then my step-father waited two or three days for the north wind to blow. He wanted to go straight across the lake and our poles were too short to push the boat across the deep water. My step-father's brother took most of our camp things in the wagon. We had a light load on the boat, only a few blankets and some lunch. We could catch fish and ducks along the way and cook them on the boat. When the ducks saw some tules like a boat out on the lake they always flew down and landed on the water beside it. They thought that where there were tules the water was not
[223] deep and they could dive to the bottom and feed. While they were diving it was easy to hide under the tules and shoot them with bow and arrows.

One afternoon we could see a dust cloud in the north and west, so we pushed the tule boat into the water and put our things on it. My stepfather and mother pushed the boat out into the lake with their poles and we all four started.

159 The boat was covered high with dry tules. It did not look
like a boat at all. The wind blew against the tules and carried
166 us right in the direction we wanted to go. The tules were like
484 the sails you white people used on the lake afterward, but we
501 did not put up any poles to hold them. They were just piled
up high on the front end of the boat so that end would go ahead.

I think we must have left Heuumne about two o'clock in the afternoon. The boat went fast and took us by the east side of the lake, close to the tules. We could reach the bottom with our poles all of the time. By dark the wind was blowing the hardest we had ever seen it on the lake. The waves were higher than the sides of the boat and we were all afraid. I remember that the front end of the boat kept going under the water. My step-father put all of us on the back end of the boat but that did not stop it. We moved a lot of the tules on the back end. But then the boat turned around in the water and almost tipped over when it was crossways.

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159 low in the creek. We called it *caw'-cuts.* White people call it
226 sturgeon.

While we were at Chawlowin some white men put cattle
159 on the island. The water was low and they drove them across
648 from the east. There were hogs there already, but they were wild. As soon as the white people found out we were there we began to have trouble. The tules were getting dry and we were afraid the white people would burn us out. So we all left. My mother and stepfather took us to Tejon Ranch. We went in his brother's little wagon.

YOIMUT'S STORY

OUR LAST HOME

159 From *Chaw-lo'-win,* where Alpaugh is now, we went to the
Indian camp above the Tejon Ranch house. There were about
● 361 two hundred Indians there. Some of them were *Wowol* (Wo'-
166 wol) and two *Chunut* (Choo'-noot) who were related to my mother.

My mother had been at Tejon Ranch when she was first
159 married. It was before the soldiers took her from Tulare Lake to
648 the Fresno River Reservation. She was at Tejon about six
166 months, I think. It was called Fort Tejon then. It was not up in the canyon where the Indians are now, or in Grapevine Canyon where the Los Angeles highway is now. It was about three or four miles west of the ranch house, on a creek below the hills.

The soldiers lived in tents close to the Indians. I am sure of this. My mother showed me the place and told me all about it. That is the place they called Fort Tejon then. It was not up in the mountains. The Indians raised some crops of wheat there close to the hills.

When I was at Tejon Ranch we stayed up in the canyon.
[578] My stepfather worked on the Tejon Ranch for a while, but none
[197] of us liked it there. The Indians there did not talk our language.

There were more of our people at Tule River Reservation, so we decided to go there. The people at Tejon Ranch wanted the Indians to go to Tule River. Some went before we did. We drove along the foothills in the same little wagon we had brought from the Armona village.

My mother and some of the other Indians told me about the old *Tulamni* (Too-lahm'-ne) village at the end of the hills by the west side of Buena Vista Lake. The Indians had lots of fights with the Spanish there.

An old Tulamni Indian named *Ko'-ko* was living at Tule 159
River while we were there. He was a real old man when I was 648
a little girl. He could see only a little. He liked to tell about the old times. He told us many stories about the old timers, but I have forgotten most of them. Koko told us that the Spanish killed lots of Indians in the tules at Tulamni. A long time after the Spanish left they kept finding dead Indians out in the tules.

Sahkehel (Sah-ke'-heel) was another old Tulamni Indian who lived at Tule River. I knew him very well. He was at Tulamni when the Spanish came. He fought against them. He said that the old Tulamni chief sent as far as the Tule River to get Indians to come and help fight the Spanish. They had several battles and the priests came and stopped the fighting. They said that the Spanish and the Indians must be friends. Then they took lots of the Indians to the Missions. Sahkehel was taken to Mission Santa Ynez and lived with a lot of Santa Barbara Indians. Then he went to Mission San Fernando. He was about sixteen years old.

Sahkehel did not call the old place *Too-lahm-ne-oo'*, like 159
you white people call it. He called it just *Too-lahm'-ne*. He 103
called those Indians *Too-lahl-me'-nah*. That meant "from Tulamni".

I knew Sahkehel until he died, when he was more than 100 years old and heard him tell these things again after I was married. He told me that he was at Los Angeles two years and that the Indians called that place *Yah'-now*.

Sahkehel told us that the Indian name for San Fernando was *Wy-seel*, which meant running. After he was grown he came to the Tejon ranch to work for General Beale. He worked there a long time. He was a *Capitan* (Kop-e-tahn') among the Indians for General Beale. The Indians called him *General* (Hen-er-ahl'). The lady that Sahkehel married was from Tulamni, too. She had been taken to Mission San Miguel and was baptized Marcelina. Her Indian name was *He-aw'-mut*. I knew her a long time. She told me the same things about the Indian battles at Tulamni.

At Tule River we lived just a little way above the Reser- 159
vation headquarters. There were lots of our people there. We 166
liked it there and stayed for about two years. Then we went back to Sulawlahne at the "Fish" Rice ranch south of Farm- 361
ersville. There were only a few Indians there. Some of them worked for "Fish" Rice. We stayed there until I was about

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166 fourteen years old. Then my stepfather took us back to Kings
361 River.

While we were at the "Fish" Rice ranch the last time, I
helped the Indians there catch some antelopes. It was the last
time they ever caught antelopes that way. We held the
Tahduwusk (Tah'-doo-woosk) surround on Outside Creek
159 where the road now goes from Tulare to Lindsay. One or two
224 of our men went out in the field near the antelopes and lay down
on their backs. They fastened pieces of cloth to their feet and
kicked them in the air.

The antelopes ran 'round and 'round, looking at the cloths the two men were waving. Each time they came closer. While they did this our people came in from all ways and made an Indian fence around them. They came up close to the antelopes. Then the two men in the middle began shooting and killed about ten before we let them go.

159 One of our men did not get enough meat. His name was
Wahcoy (Wah'-coy). The next day he went back alone to kill
224 some antelopes for himself. He fixed an antelope skin with
165 the head and horns on it and put it over his head and back.
Wahcoy sneaked along the creek to a place where the antelopes
came in to drink. Then he walked out on his hands and knees
in the grass toward the antelopes.

Two white men were hid in the same creek about one hundred yards away. They were hunting antelopes, too. They saw the Indian. They thought he was an antelope and shot him. The man who shot him was Hi Willis. Hi Willis was a young man. He lived were the white people have Mooney Grove now. His father owned that ranch.

Hi Willis brought Wahcoy's body to our camp at Sulawlahne. Wahcoy lived with his father and mother right next to our house. He was shot through the chest below the right shoulder. He did not die right away when they shot him. He told them where to take him.

Some of the Indians thought that Hi Willis shot Wahcoy on purpose, but I think he thought Wahcoy was an antelope all right. It was easy to make that mistake. But our people decided not to hunt any more antelope. There was only a little bunch left out there anyway. The white people killed the rest of them.

159 The Indians at Sulawlahne called Elk Bayou *Traw'-it.* I
103 used to know the names for all of the creeks, but I have for-
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gotten them. That village, *Che'-oo-tak,* I think was the one on 159
Cameron Creek three or four miles north of Tulare, not south. 103
I heard lots of times about an old place there, right close to 361
where the railroad crosses now, but I am not sure about the
name.

Finally we got tired of staying at "Fish" Rice ranch. We 159
wanted to go back to Tulare Lake. We went back three or four 166
times for visits when we could ask somebody to let us go on 361
their land. But we never got a chance to stay there. Our good
friends did not have any land on the lake.

We went over to Kings River and camped near the Ezra ranch. They were always good to us and we felt right to stay there.. We have lived along Kings River, at the Santa Rosa Rancheria, and on the ranches where we worked ever since.

My mother died, and I got married and now I live with
my daughter. There are lots of things I forgot about how my
people lived. I speak Spanish and English, Wowol and Chunut. [191]
Then I know *Tachi, Nutunutu, Wachikit, Wukchumne, Yaudanchi, Koyeti* and some others. So I have to forget some of
my old Chunut things.

The Chunut had a story about how the world was made. I 159
never knew all of it. I heard it lots of times, too. The world was 773
all water at first. *Chukuko,* (Choo-koo'-ko) the diver duck,
and *Trawm'-cawt,* the turtle, got the mud from the bottom of
the water to make the world.

Chukuko tried to get the mud and Trawmcawt helped him. The mud was thrown around to make the world. *Ki'-yoo* (Coyote), *We-itch* (Condor) and *We-ha'-sit* (Mountain Lion) were about the first people made. That is about all I remember. I am sorry I forgot it.

We called the Milky Way *Yo-hote'-sool.* It is the white [821]
place in the sky made in a race between antelope and deer.

On Kern River a big mountain is split through. Once [823]
Wahl'-wut (Canvasback Duck) ran a race with *Lim'-ik* (Prairie
Falcon). Limik cut right through the mountain and won the
race.

159
When we saw red clouds at sunset we used to say that it [821]
would not rain the next day.

I forgot lots about the seeds and how the Indians fixed [252]
them. They made a tea from the mint which grew in the water [272]
and from the peppermint from the mountains. They also made [757]
tea from sycamore bark. They drank it and put it on sores.

159 825 854 To make a little baby strong we used to get fat from a turtle and rub it on all of his joints. That made them strong. We used turtle fat because he can run and swim as soon as he comes out of the egg. We called the fat *hin'-kah*. To make a little baby stand up we put a soap root brush in the fire so the ends glowed. Then we touched it against his knees. He would straighten his legs and stand up.

159 352 854 My people did not make their baby cradles like the Wukchumne did. They made most of them of tules. They were nice and soft for the baby. I think they were better, too. We made another cradle of a forked stick with small sticks fastened across it. It was covered with tules when we put the baby on it.

159 854 We kept a piece of *kuts* (koots, soapstone) hanging on the baby cradle to use when we changed the baby. We scraped powder from it to put on the baby. It was the same as your talcum powder. We called this cradle-stone *me-ha'-te*.

159 361 From the time I was a girl I knew lots of old Tachi. I heard them talk about the West Side and I remember a few things over there. The Polvardera, southeast of Coalinga, was called *Sawkeu* (Saw-ke'-oo). There was good water there. The Indians camped there to hunt antelope.

There used to be an old Tachi village called *Wahl'-muh* on the west side of Tulare Lake. I knew the last chief at that place. He was an old uncle of old "Lemoore Bob" who used to dance.

[103] The Poso Chaná was called *We'-kit Le'-wis*. It meant Pieces Cut. Four ridges ran up to the hills from the place. They looked like they had been cut out with a knife. The water at Poso Chaná was not as good as at Sawkeu. It was a little salty.

159 439 The Indian traders used to meet at the Poso Chaná to trade with the coast Indians. *Kahn'-te* was the oldest chief of the Tachi I ever knew. He used to have charge of the trading. He told me all about it and taught me his song. I have always remembered it. Lots of other old-time Tachi told me about it, too.

The bead and seashell traders from the coast met the Tachi traders at Poso Chaná. The Tachi and the other Indians would not let the people from the west come right up to the lake. They were afraid they would learn how to get things without trading.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948) 1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

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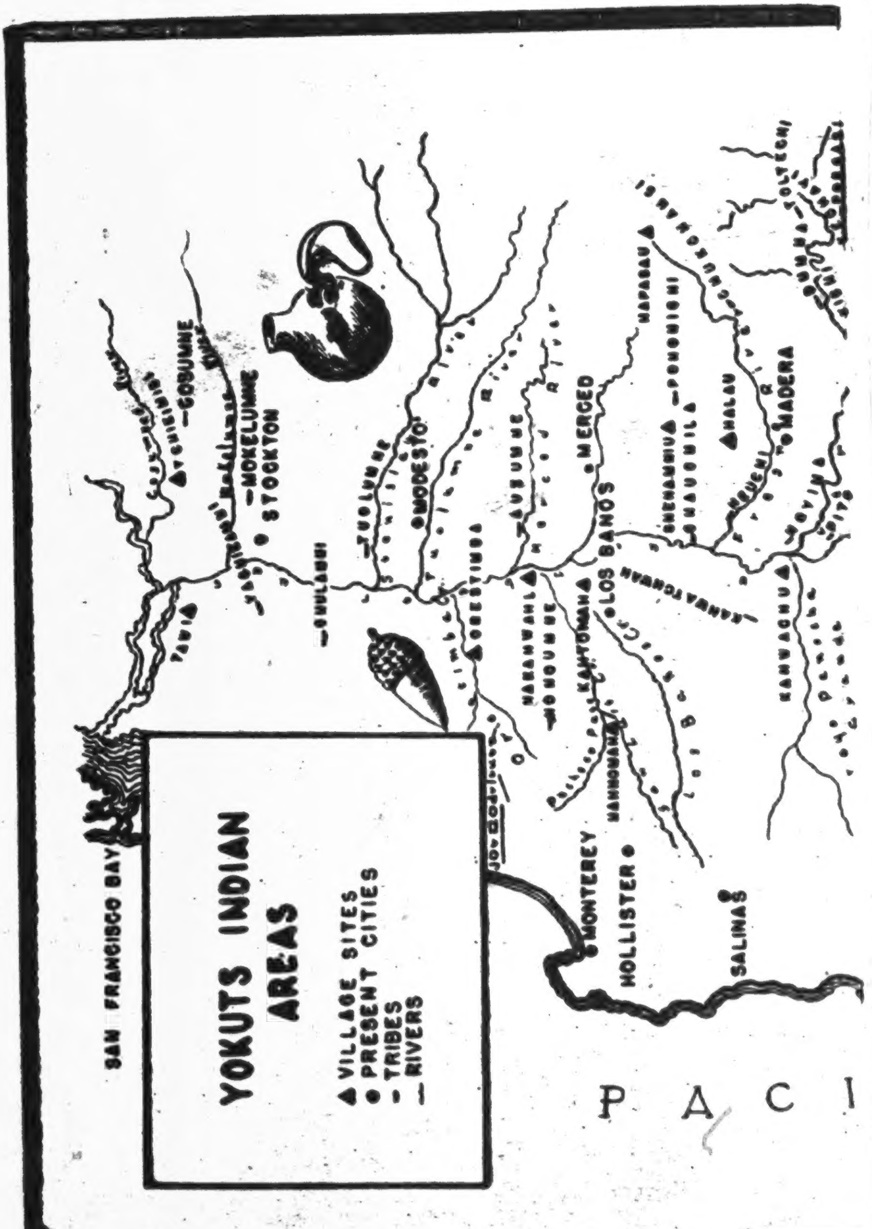
SAN FRANCISCO BAY
YOKUTS INDIAN AREAS
▲ VILLAGE SITES
● PRESENT CITIES
- TRIBES
_ RIVERS
TAWIA
GOSUMNE
Mokelumne River
MOKELUMNE
STOCKTON
CHULAMNI
TUOLUMNE
Stanislaus
MODESTO
Tuolumne River
ORESTIMBA
AUSUMNE
Merced River
NAHANWAHL
HONOUMNE
KANTOMAH
LOS BANOS
MERCED
MONTEREY
HOLLISTER
SALINAS
Los Banos Cr.
POHONICHI
CHAUCHILA
HALAU
HEUCHI
MADERA
HOYIMA
DUMNA
TOLTECHI
P A C I

[End Map(A)]

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948) 1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

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●361
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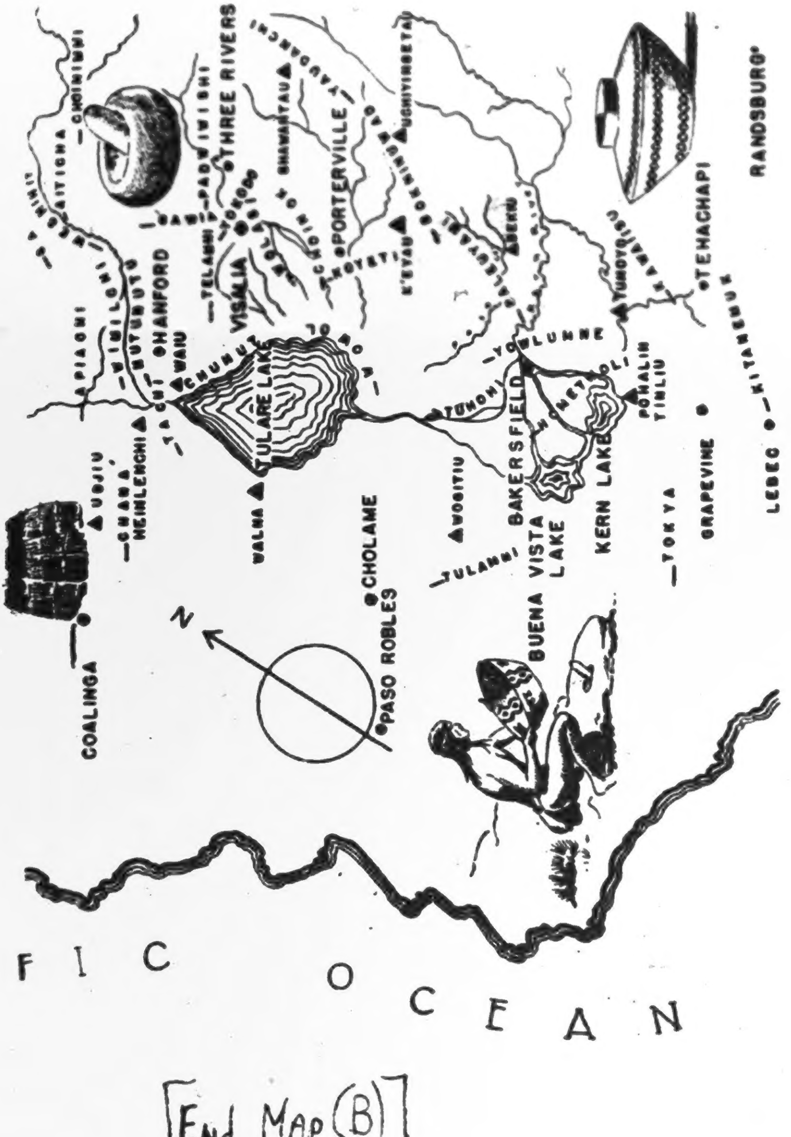
COALINGA
UDJIU
CHANA'
HEINLENCHI
APIAGHI
WIMILCHI
HUTUBUTU
TACHI
HANFORD
WAIU
CHUNUT
TULARE LAKE
WALNA
AITICHA
CHOINIMNI
GAWIA
TELAMNI
PADWIWISHI
THREE RIVERS
VISALIA
YOKODO
WOLASI
CHOINOK
SHAWANTAU
YAUDANCHI
PORTERVILLE
KOYETI
WO'LO
K'EYAU
BOKNINUWAD
UCHIYINGETAU
PALEUYAMI
BEKU
N
PASO ROBLES
CHOLAME
WOGITIU
TULAMNI
TUHOHI
YOWLUMNE
BAKERSFIELD
BUENA VISTA LAKE
KERN LAKE
HOMETWOLI
POHALIN TINLIU
YUNOYO
KAWAIISU
TOKYA
GRAPEVINE
TEHACHAPI
LEBEC
KITANEMUK
RANDSBURG
FIC
OCEAN

[End Map (B)]

221 Pleasure came from their beauty, their fragrance, and their indication of a
301 plentiful seed harvest to follow. Winter rainbows forecast plentiful seed crops,
824 for they were seen as four bands of color (magenta, blue, yellow, orange) of four
flowers whose seeds were prized.[12]

221 In April, when rattlesnakes were rousing from hibernation, came the very
796 important Rattlesnake Ritual, sponsored by the shamans controlling the creatures,
and participated in by all persons as a preventative from injury by rattlers during the summer months. This ritual, which included a snake-handling display and concluded with a feast, was attended by both local and extra-community persons.

221 On the lower Kings River, the Choinimni (Y) and probably other tribes
226 within the area of the spring salmon run (about May) held a simple river-side
ritual at their principal fishing sites. The local chief ate the first salmon speared, after cooking it and praying to Salmon for a plentiful supply. Then others partook of a salmon feast, and the season, so to say, was officially open. (Some
[423 foods were "moiety-owned," e. g., blackberries and mushrooms north of Kings
616] River; the possessing moiety collected but could not partake until they had
feasted the other moiety with the food.)

221 Disruption of village life came in late spring or early summer—from May
484 onward, depending upon the condition of the seed harvest. Chiefs directed the
general exodus in a minor way, publicly stating that now was the time to go, and families departed for their habitual summer camps. At these, men caught fish and small game which they dried for winter use, and, as the women collected loads of seeds, transported the heavy burdens back to the village storage bins. There were no special ceremonies for this season of dispersed households; instead local
[535 and more spontaneous entertainment took place: there is record of shamans danc-
527] ing at summer camps; there were pleasure dances in which both sexes participated;
children played late in the long evenings; and stories (myth-instruction) were
● 361 tabu. Camp locations varied with the change of crops—toward the valley, into

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[12] Play with flowers, so incompatible with conventional notions about Indians, was widespread in the West. Without especially seeking them the following references come to hand for Miwok, Maidu, Paviotso, Klackamas, and Taos: S. A. Barrett and E. W. Gifford, *Miwok Material Culture* (Bulletin, Public Museum of the City of Milwaukee, vol. 2, pp. 117-376, 1933), pp. 222-223; Stephen Powers, *Tribes of California* (Contributions to North American Ethnology, vol. 3, Department of the Interior, United States Geographical and Geological Survey of the Rocky Mountain Region, Washington, D. C., 1877), p. 325; Robert H. Lowie, *Notes on Shoshonean Ethnography* (Anthropological Papers, American Museum of Natural History, vol. 20, part 3, 1924), pp. 306-307; Melville Jacobs, *Texts in Chinook Jargon* (University of Washington Publications in Anthropology, vol. 7, pp. 1-27, 1936), p. 12; Elsie Clews Parsons, *Taos Tales* (Memoirs, American Folklore Society, no. 34, 1940), p. 121.

the hills—but all in all the moves probably encompassed not more than a twenty 221
mile span, on the average, for anyone. 361 ●
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There is some evidence that early fall was a season of general sickness for 221
people in the San Joaquin valley, especially for those in the swampy region near 164
the lake. The evidence is tenuous; whether the illness was due to stagnant, contaminated
or alkaline water, to heat stroke, to an increase in tularemia as the
result of greater handling of rabbits and ground squirrels, it is impossible to say.[13]

September saw a return to the villages: winter storage preparations were 221
made, and with view to the complete reëstablishment of normal community life 769
plans were started for the great event of the year, the Annual Mourning Ceremony
(luniˊša). To this end much material—foodstuffs in abundance, treasures
of baskets, feather ornaments, money—had been prepared or saved. Preparatory [426]
loans already had been floated to be returned at high interest at the time of
the festivity, usually late October. Necessary supplies of deer meat were obtained
by special hunters at the very time of the event. Guests came by the [574]
hundreds. Obviously such large-scale entertainment could be managed only at
the season of most plentiful food supplies.

Thus October saw the greatest of the year's festivities, the six-day ceremony
of special rites, one for each day, climaxing in the all night mourning and distribution
of wealth, followed by the ritual cleansing, and ending with a feast, game [431]
playing and dancing, the acquisition of foods, gifts, and exchanged treasures.
These affairs might be held in two or three Yokuts-Mono tribes during this
period (roughly late September to early November), and the same persons attend
them, at home as hosts, elsewhere as reciprocal ritual participants, or as visitors.

November brought the final seasonal ceremony, the Bear Dance (nōhōˊʼo 221
kaˊmaič), which marked the first use of the new acorn crop by all persons of the 796
Bear lineages—sometimes for other people as well.[14] This brief but exciting performance [613]
ended with a feast of acorns prepared and served by Bear people to
their guests, after which they themselves partook. The dance was timed to follow [574]
the final harvesting of acorns and coincided with the time when bears betook
themselves to winter hibernation.

Thus ended the ceremonial year, with mourners released from their restrictions, with storehouses filled, with houses repaired, and with long evenings ahead

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[13] A comparable summer sickness of waterfowl in this area is on record (Joseph Grinnell, Harold Child Bryant, and Tracy Irwin Storer, *The Game Birds of California*, Berkeley, 1918, p. 17).

[14] Lineage attributes and functions have been described in the author's *Yokuts and Western Mono Social Organization* (American Anthropologist, vol. 47, pp. 409-426, 1945).

TRIBAL ORGANIZATION

The Yokuts and Western Mono peoples of the San Joaquin valley 101
were grouped in units justifiably called tribes. A tribe comprised 619
several families living in villages, and possessing one to three chiefs,
a distinctive dialect, and name. The tribal name such as Chunut,
Chukchansi, Yaudanchi, Wobonuch, Patwisha, etc., applied to the
dialectic unit as a whole. A child belonged to the tribe of his father [611]
regardless of the place of his birth. The persons of any tribe often
referred to themselves or each other by this name, as, "I am Chunut,"
or "She is Chukchansi," though they recognized their generic linguistic bond. Villages had names but it is doubtful that the tribal
name had any reference to these sites.[5]

The villages were permanent but were dwelt in mostly during the 361
winter months. From about May to September families moved out [221]
into summer camps for seed gathering. Often two or three families
would move together for the summer, usually going year after year
to the same spot. It was not compulsory to leave the village during
the summer: often old people stayed there the year round; sick people
were left behind with some one in attendance. The summer camping
out, though habitual, was entirely a matter of convenience.

Although there were no definite tribal boundaries, the large village 423
sites of each were regarded respectively as the seat of the tribe.
Hunting, and seed and acorn gathering, were confined to tribal areas
though nothing more definite than a hilltop, a creek, or a cluster of
trees determined their limits. Adjacent tribes between whom relations were friendly often asked permission to come onto each other's
territory to obtain food if there was a shortage within their own
bounds. The property sense in regard to land was so undeveloped
that there was little formality regarding such invasions, and they
rarely if ever resulted in hostilities.

The size of the area regarded as its own by any one tribe probably 161
varied according to the number of people in it. What the actual
numbers were for any Yokuts or Mono tribe in ancient times it is
difficult to conjecture. Moraga's figures showing populations ranging
from sixty Aiticha to eight hundred Telamni are suggestive even if 361
inaccurate.[6] Every tribe had at least one major village site, several

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[5] Kroeber, Handbook, 475.

[6] Given by Kroeber, Handbook, 491.

● 361 had two, perhaps others had three or four. Whether the number of villages was in direct ratio with the size of the tribal population is not known; the villages of a large tribe may have been no more numerous than those of a small tribe, merely being larger, or vice versa.

Locations of villages naturally were geographically determined. Thus practically all those described by informants were convenient to a good water supply; many were on small open flats at the water's edge, as Gutsnumi, a Wukchumni village on the Kaweah river, and Kitceyu, an Entimbich site (now Dunlap, Fresno county), or on a slight hill near a creek as Tcitatu, a Waksachi site in Eshom valley. Sunlight was regarded as desirable, as would be expected for winter habitation. The villages of the plains Yokuts along the edge of Tulare lake and in the network of sloughs approaching the lake were on such rises of ground as were available.

The appearance of these villages differed somewhat in the plains and in the foothills. In the open valley houses were invariably of tule mats, the most convenient material. They were placed in two long rows facing each other, with the chief's house in the center and with his messengers established at each end.[7] My Chunut informant said, "the houses looked just like a street." One Chunut chief, Kanti, had his house apart from the village on a little eminence of land, but this was perhaps a modern innovation. The houses were large and accommodated several persons. Little storehouses or storage bins were scattered here and there. Not far from the water's edge a sweat-house or two emerged from the ground.

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In the foothills houses were of tule when available but more often of brush or grass thatch, or in the mountains of cedar bark slabs. There was no village plan: houses were scattered about, storage bins roosted on rock ledges, officials lived where they would. The Kechayi Yokuts and perhaps other northern foothill Yokuts placed their houses in a single row with the chief's at the west end if the ground of the village site permitted such an arrangement, but such cases were uncommon. The sweat-houses were always near a swimming hole if there was one. The dance and assembly space was usually out at one side of the village. Occasionally a dance place occurred as a separate site, but was never more than a mile from a village. Visitors at [574] ceremonies camped under shades near the dance space during their stay.

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[7] Kroeber, Handbook, 497.

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930

NS29 Yokuts NS29

With such villages as nuclei, members of each tribe occupied roughly defined areas, spoke a distinctive dialect, practiced their daily pursuits and ceremonies, gave allegiance to their chiefs, and were self-consciously aware of the political unity which was expressed in their tribal name. 361 101

The fundamental unit within the tribe was the paternal lineage. Each lineage had a totemic animal which was inherited by all children in the male line. A woman retained her totem upon marriage but it was not usually transmitted to her offspring, or if it were it was for that generation only. Individual names were paternally inherited, though not exclusively so. There was a tendency for the name of a paternal grandfather or grandmother to pass to the eldest grandson or granddaughter.[6] Names were usually chosen and bestowed by the paternal grandfather. Although names had no totemic reference they were said to belong to the lineage: two people could not have the same name unless they were related. In over two hundred names occurring in genealogies collected by the present writer no interlineage duplicates have been discovered. 614 [551]

The number of totemic animals associated with lineages was not large; at least today not more than a dozen are recognized. Eagle, prairie falcon, dove, coyote, bear, rattlesnake, and fish appear with greatest frequence. A priori one might expect that persons with the same totem would regard themselves as related, but this was not the case. Except in those tribes in which moiety exogamy prevailed persons having the same totem might marry provided they were not more closely related than by third or fourth cousinship. In fact, the marriage of a boy and girl both having eagle or dove totem (the chief's and winatum's totems, respectively) was an occasion for rejoicing. 614 825 [616 582]

The totemic animal was venerated. Under no circumstances did an individual kill his animal, and in the case of its being edible—as bear, dove, or fish, its flesh was never eaten. A person who unwittingly ate of such food would always be nauseated by it. An individual prayed, talked to, and dreamed of his totem animal, especially if it were associated with some official or ceremonial capacity.

Certain totemic animals were symbols of actual or potential functions. Thus eagle was invariably the chief's totem among the Yokuts. The Wobonuch and Waksachi Western Mono recognized prairie falcon as a chief's totem but eagle was equally emphasized in this connection. 614 622 825

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[6] See genealogies, Appendix.

finished. The chief was the first to enter the new sweat-house when 622
the opening celebration was made. 344

In the late spring when the time approached for the villages to
break up into summer camping groups, the chief would call his people 622
together. He would tell them that his family was moving, that he 361
thought it was time for all of them to go, and to return at a certain
time in the late summer. After this most families would leave for
their camps, but their departure and return was really a matter of
their own choice. Generally members of a village moved about as
they pleased. If a family wanted to move away, say to another village,
or ahead of time to their summer camp, they were free to do so. The 622
head of the family might tell the chief of his plans but in doing so 361
he was rendering a courteous gesture rather than asking for permission. 576
On moving into another village or camping in its vicinity, the
chief of that place was notified by the customary call. Persons who
camped about without advising a chief in the neighborhood of their
business were open to suspicion.[34]

Beyond the guidance of ceremonial activities the chief's legal 622
offices were few. The settlement of quarrels between individuals or 578
families was often but not necessarily brought to the chief. Small 627
disputes between families, quarrels between women, or between husbands
and wives, or cases of divorce did not come before him. Sometimes
the chief would hear of a protracted interfamily feud and would
send his winatum to the parties concerned asking them to come to
some agreement. But difficulties resulting in murder or serious personal
injury were usually brought to his attention for settlement. If
a family wanted revenge upon a malicious shaman, poisoner, or murderer
to the extent of taking his life, the case had to be laid before
the chief before any overt action could be taken. However, hot-headed
men occasionally sought vengeance upon an enemy without consulting
anyone; in such a case the culprit's family was free to retaliate.
When the chief gave permission for a person who was regarded as a
public enemy to be done away with, no retaliation could be taken by
the victim's family. The chief, however, did not usually make a
decision of this sort entirely by himself. If there were no other [623]
chiefs in the village he would ask the advice of a few venerable men.
An angered man might forestall the chief's veto of his plans by consulting
men whose opinion bore weight before going to the chief.
Thus among the Wobonuch (WM):[35]

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[34] See anecdote, p. 394.

[35] Informant George Dick.

648 a nook of the mountains. Doubtless they would eventually have seized
all the streams emptying into Tulare Lake, but they seem to have become
[164] enervated by the malaria, and reduced to the same condition of sluggishness
as the people whom they displaced.

At the time of the American advent, therefore, the Yokuts occupied
131 the south bank of the Fresno; the San Joaquin, from Whisky Creek down to the mouth of the Fresno; King's River, from Mill Creek down to the mouth; the Kaweah, Tule River, and Deer Creek; the west shore of Tulare Lake, and the isolated mountain-nook at Fort Tejon.

Their tribal distribution was as follows: On the San Joaquin, from
101 Whisky Creek down to Millerton, are the Chŭk′-chan-si; farther down, the
131 Pit′-ka-chi, now extinct. On King's River, going down stream, are the following bands, in their order: Tis-e′-chu, Chai-nim′-ai-ni, It-i′-cha, Wi′-chikik, Ta′-chi, No-toan′-ai-ti, the latter on the lake, the Tachi at Kingston. On Dry Creek are the Kas-so′-vo; in Squaw Valley the Chu-kai′-mi-na. On the Kaweah River, beginning in the mountains, are the Wik′-sach-i, Wik-chum′-ni (in the foot-hills), Kau-i′-a (on the edge of the plains), Yu′-kol (on the plains), Te′-lum-ni (two miles below Visalia), Chu′-nut (at the lake). On Tule River are the O-ching′-i-ta (at Painted Rock), Ai′-a-pai (at Soda Spring), Mai-ai′-u (on South Fork), Sa-wakh′-tu (on the main river), Ki-a-wet′-ni (at Porterville). At Fort Tejon are the Tin′-lin-neh (from *tin′-nilh*, "a hole"), so called on account of some singular depressions in the earth in that vicinity. A little further north, near Kern Lake, are the Po-hal′-lin-Tin′leh (squirrel-holes), so named on account of the great number of ground-squirrels living in that place.

In the Yokuts nation there appears to be more political solidarity, more
619 capacity in the petty tribes of being grouped into large and coherent
masses, than is common in the State. This is particularly true of those
542 living on the plains, who display in their encampments a military precision
● 361 and regularity which are remarkable. Every village consists of a single
row of wigwams, conical or wedge-shaped, generally made of tule, and
[343] just enough hollowed out within so that the inmates may sleep with the
head higher than the feet, all in perfect alignment, and with a continuous
awning of brushwood stretching along in front. In one end-wigwam lives

7:Powers J-5 (1871-1876) 1877 NS29 Yokuts NS29

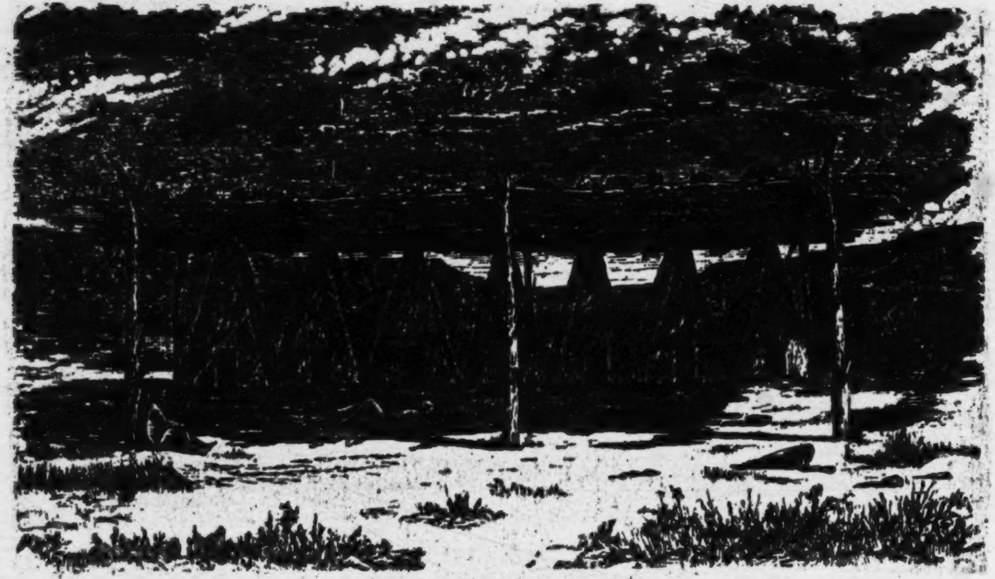

Figure 39.—Yo'-kuts Tule Lodges.

[Facing p. 370]

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361 the village captain; in the other, the shaman or *si-se′-ro* (Spanish, *hechizero*).
592 In the mountains there is some approach to this martial array, but it is universal on the plains.

But it is more especially in their actual organization, and in the
621 instances of great leaders who have arisen, that this quality is manifested.
622 Every large natural division of territory possessing a certain homogeneity constitutes the domain of one tribe and one chief—for instance, a river-valley, from the snow-line down to the plains, or from the foot-hills to the
621 lake—though nowadays this system has been disturbed by the whites. In this domain every village has a captain, who stands to the central chief in
624 the relation of a governor to the President, and is generally distinguished from his subjects by his long hair. At certain annual meetings and other occasions each captain reports to his chief the general condition of his village as to morals, as to quarrels, as to the acorn-crop, etc. In return, the
621 chief delivers a long oration of advice and counsel; warns, instructs, and
622 admonishes his subalterns; and, if necessary, berates soundly any delinquent. Both the chiefship and the captaincy are hereditary, that is, if the son does not prove to be a fool. But either can appoint his successor as he likes. For instance, Santiago, captain of the Tachi, had two sons, Ka′-teh and Ku′-to-mats, of whom Kateh was the first-born, but he designated the other to succeed him, because, as Kateh ingenuously acknowledged, "he was the smartest".

Instances of this harmonious hierarchy of ranks exist yet in Chi-wi′-ni,
622 who is chief over all the villages in Squaw Valley; in Wa-tu′-ga, who is chief of the three upper villages on King's River; and in Slōk′-nich, chief of the Chukchansi.

The captain has no substantial authority, even to appoint the time for a
624 special mourning or a fandango; he must request the chief to do so in his behalf. But nowadays there are many villages which have broken away and become independent, and their captains exercise all the power the tribe will bear, which is small. In early days the chief sometimes wielded
622 considerable authority, as the following instances will evince:

Ten or fifteen years ago Pascual consolidated all the villages on King's River, except the one at the mouth, into a robust little kingdom;

animal, not a grazing animal and few suitable shrubs and trees grow 136
in the region. There were some herds of antelope, especially in the eastern portions, and some tule elk. Even rabbits were less numerous than in adjoining regions. In the most favorable sections burrows were periodically flooded while elsewhere feed was scanty.

The Tachi Yokuts were located north and west of Tulare Lake. 361 ●
Of the eight locatable Tachi settlements, six were on the sloughs near Tulare Lake or on the shores of the lake itself; two were on the dry plains west of the lake.[4] Each settlement consisted of one, and in most [342]
cases probably several, long wedgeshaped houses covered with tule [592]
mats and housing several families. Latta claims these sometimes reach the length of 300 feet but most writers consider this excessive.[5] Kroeber [161]
cites Gabriel Moraga who visited the Tachi in 1806 and records the range of some 60 to 800 persons for southern Yokuts villages.[6] Moraga's report is suspect but other data suggest that most Tachi villages [114]
contain several hundred people.[7]

The location of settlements was importantly influenced by the 131
location and permanence of water. The lake shore itself offered dif- 361
ficulties, for the surrounding terrain is relatively flat and in some places a change of lake level of one foot would shift the lake margin as much as 4 miles.[8] According to Gifford and Schenck when the lake surface was 192 feet above sea-level, only 300 square miles was covered, but at its highest level of 220 feet, the area was 800 square miles. The highest level was unstable and villages located with reference to this might at many times have no access to water. The 500 square miles between the lower and the highest level, was marshly and "an area in which man could not have resided permanently." [9] Consequently, the most desirable sites were on permanent sloughs offering access to the lake but located on ground high enough to be out of flood water. Some of the Yokuts, possibly including the Tachi, when [342]
they could not find a sufficiently elevated house site would raise the floor by carrying in baskets of earth. In addition, the Tachi and 513

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[4] GAYTON, 1948 map. 2; KROEBER, p. 484, plate 47; LATTA, p. 13.

[5] LATTA, p. 90.

[6] KROEBER, p. 491.

[7] GAYTON, 1948, p. 13.

[8] LATTA, p. 30.

[9] GIFFORD and SCHENCK, pp. 8-11 .

513 their neighbors raised their sleeping places on a low frame of willow
poles.[10]

221 The settlements to the west apparently suffered from lack of water
[312] and during the summer and fall dry season residents in those villages
361 commonly moved to the vicinity of the lake. Gayton says: "On the west
[137] side was a comparatively barren area, almost treeless and waterless,
practically uninhabited, used little save for rabbit drives..."[11] In contrast, the residents of permanent villages on the lake frequently left
during the summer to gather seeds and to hunt. Apparently they usually went eastward, if they traveled any distance, and in part collected on
lands used by some of their eastern neighbors.

824 The economy of the Tachi was dominated by the resources of the
lake and its tributary sloughs. The tule provided essential materials
[501] for house construction and for the making of balsas which were essential for the exploitation of many of the lake resources and were used
extensively in transportation as far away as the east side of the San
262 Joaquin Valley. Tule roots and seeds provided a major part of the
824 vegetable food, and the *Tular* harbored small animals and the tule elk.
The major subsidiary vegetable foods apparently were the bulbs of
the brodiaea, easily obtainable in quantity in sandy spots, and grass
[423] seeds. In part, the latter were obtained from marked plots owned by
[428] particular women and inherited by their daughters, a sister, or other
439 female sociological relative. Acorns are rarely mentioned and when
obtained were apparently either secured by visits to the territory of
other groups or were obtained in trade. The Choinimni to the east are
especially mentioned as floating down the Kings Rivers on balsas to
exploit the lake resources and to bring acorns and other materials in
trade.

136
262 The river mussel (*Anodonta nuttaliana* Lea) probably was the
825 most important source of animal protein. Other less abundant mollusks
were utilized and fish were fairly important in the diet. The terrapin
(*Clemmys marmorato*) and waterfowl were important resources.

136 In contrast land mammals apparently were not abundant. The
[224] largest, the tule elk, was snared or speared in the tule swamps but
apparently seldom was attacked on dry land. During most of the year,
the area offered little food for grazing animals such as the antelope.
[439] Even rabbits seem not to have been abundant, for the Tachi apparently

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[10] GAYTON, 1948, p. 13.

[11] GAYTON, 1948, p. 6.

10: Beals & Hester E-4, 5 (no date) 1958
NS29 Yokuts NS29

105 184 permanent villages from which people moved seasonally or for brief periods to obtain particular products, the internal importance of family, extended family and lineage, the cross-cutting of villages by a moiety organization which provided chieftainship, village exogamy and a tendency towards moiety exogamy — in these and other respects there appears little diference between the Tachi and their eastern neighbors. Undoubtedly full information would show some differences in detail. For example, it appears likely that Tachi women contributed less to the food supplies than did the women of acorn using tribes, but this does not appear to be reflected in the social roles.

182 It would seem, therefore, that the lake ecology, different though
619 it may appear, supports similar social conditions to those of the acorn
[621] using tribe In each case the pattern is that of the permanent village
with some hundreds of people who are able to get the bulk of their
subsistence within a relatively restricted area supplemented only by
[361] periodic or seasonal absences. The close proximity of settlements in
[162] each case, the relatively high density of population with respect to
major resource areas, the seasonal fluctuation in availability and location
of major resources, all favor the existence of mechanisms for
settling or preventing intra-tribal disputes and possible conflicts with
[616] similar neighboring groups. The moiety organization cut across the
village organization, contributing to the cohesiveness of the tribe as
well as providing a mechanism for diffusing power and for the selection
of chiefs. The equatibility of moieties among various Yokut tribes
perhaps also contributed to stable intertribal relationships. A similar
[574] function was served by the sharing of common resources in some cases,
and by the exchange of hospitability in connection with religious ceremonials.

182 It appears to us at present, however, that the moiety is not essen-
616 tial to the functioning of social systems under either lake or valley
[144] conditions. The northern Yokuts lack moieties and they are absent
among other linguistic groups occupying similar environments.

182 221 Our conclusion is that substantially different ecological adaptations may be associated with quite similar social organizations providing the possibility of similar groupings of people exist. In the present instance both the lake and the acorn adaptations provide relatively abundant and reliable food supplies within limited areas, permitting the forming of fairly large and fairly stable communities. It is this fact, rather than a direct ecological relationship, which has permitted

11: Gayton E-4 (no date) 1936 NS29 Yokuts NS29

648 797 sented me with some fish which I gratefully received. The Indians asked permission to catch ducks for the soldiers, and in less than half an hour within [223] my sight, they caught many with snares which they had in the lake.

[133] The land over which we have come is saline and miry, without any pasture for the horses.

Soon the natives all were reunited and returned to live on their land without fear of any injury the troop might do them. I left at 6 A.M. [Tuesday, Oct. 26] from this site of the Lake of Bubal for the great plain, going toward 133 the south to go around it, and at a distance of 6 leagues to the east went toward the arroyo of San Cayetano. This I reached and followed as far as the first foothills of the Sierra Nevada in search of water and pasture. In the cañon called by the natives Agspa [the present Alpaugh?] I found it at 6:30 P.M. Made camp, having arrived with the horses and mules considerably dejected. They had not eaten for three days including today, and from necessity had walked 16 leagues over salty, loose, soil; because of this I had left 3 exhausted horses and 1 mule in the arroyo. At 11 P.M. they were reunited with the herd.

Wednesday, 27.—At sun-up I examined the cañon that forms this arroyo, with the spyglass. It is called San Cayetano by Lieutenant Don Gabriel Moraga, and Agspa by the natives [copy of Nov. 19: whose ranchería was found farther in, and the people at the fiesta at Buenavista]. It is filled with oaks, live oaks, poplars, and willows, and sufficient wild plants. Very good water runs through it for the distance of 1 league, and [there is] pasture in abundance. Therefore it appears that the herd will recover today. Those that came on the expedition of 1806 did not say it was so wide nor so covered with trees [621 at that time. [Copy of Nov. 19: Judging by the appearance of the ranchería, 162] it is composed of 400 souls of both sexes and (all) ages.]

Thursday, 28.—Left at 6 A.M., taking a northerly direction, and at 9 A.M. 648 entered the arroyo of Coyaipich [Koyeti?], at a distance of 4 leagues. It was 797 named San Pedro by Moraga in 1806. I saw two Indians, who were followed and overtaken. They spoke to me when their fear left, and they conducted me to the ranchería of the same name. Their captain, Tuckal, told me that several days before they had received news of my coming from the Tache. The night before they had been watching us until the troop began to catch the horses and saddle them. Knowing that they had no Christians among them I put aside their fears, and informed them as I had done the refugees from [162 the missions, that they could return. The number of people composing this 621] ranchería must be about 200 of both sexes and all ages. [Copy of Nov. 19, Notes: The Indians are of good appearance and physiognomy, seem docile. Their dialect is the same which my interpreter Antonio, neophyte at Mission Soledad, speaks.]

I followed the same direction to the east [copy of Nov. 19: Started for the San Gabriel river with two guides from this ranchería] guided by two natives of Coyaipich, and I crossed the intervening plain to the entrance of [361 the Gran Roblar, which is 8 leagues. I encountered the Ranchería of Choij-162] nocko [Choinok] at the sides of an arroyo that had a little water in small

11: Gayton E-4 (no date) 1936 NS29 Yokuts NS29

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pools. [Copy of Nov. 19: According to the size of it, it should show the number [361
of 300 souls.... Their dialect is like that of Tukal.] Their captain and 162]
the greater part of the inhabitants, they told me, were at Chischa, 8 leagues
away.

I continued eastward and reached a deep arroyo, where I found two huts
with Indians. They came out to receive me, one of them being the captain of
Chischa [Joasps]. With his brother, wife, and other relatives he had retired [765]
this afternoon to weep during the night for the death of their relatives [copy
of Nov. 19: two brothers and six sisters], since on the following day they
would all celebrate, and various rancherías had been invited to the fiesta. He
and his relatives helped to give water to the horses, since it was already 6 P.M.

[Copy of Nov. 19, Notes: From this point (Coyaipich) to the weeping place 133
of Joasps, Captain of Chischa, and from there to his ranchería, as to that of
Telame, and as far as the edge of the Roblar, the land is admirable for its
fertility, although rough because of its virginity. With its moisture, it only
invites all to its cultivation to give abundant crops of wheat, grains, corn,
and all the legumes, as long as it is irrigated. And the waters of San Gabriel
can easily be carried in case of necessity. The pasture remains green and dry
the year around. The woods are oaks of various species, willows, and poplars; [137]
there are some wild plants in the level parts, and in the arroyo and bogs.
Moreover there abounds a shrub that they call wild hemp, very white and [283
strong, of which the natives make their nets for fishing and (which) we (use) 227]
for sewing our shoes. Some of it is so fine it serves for sewing clothes.

The dialect is the same. The sustenance which they have is of acorns, very 262
savory wild grain, and different kinds of seeds which this country naturally [197]
produces with great abundance. The river has several kinds of tasty fish,
the little pools and arroyos a kind of anchovy which the Indians catch and [252]
dry in large quantities to keep for the rigorous times of winter. And they
have pine nuts which they gather in the mountains.]

Having had news from the Choynocos that there was a Christian from San 797
Miguel among them at the fiesta, and that they had two horses, I spoke to
Joasps. He immediately sent to tell the captain of the Choynoco to come, and 648
to bring the Christian and horses. He [the captain] arrived at 10 P.M. with
him and with a horse, begging me in his name and those of the other captains
to forgive him. [He said] that they all invited me with his people to pass tomorrow
at the fiesta which the captain of Chischa, Joasps, was making. I
accepted, and he returned at midnight to Chischa, 3 leagues away from
Choinoco.

The two rancherías [copy of Nov. 19: three] that I have seen today all had [609]
their women and children hidden, but after they were informed that no
priest accompanied me, they came out and presented themselves.

Friday, 29.—At 6 A.M. started the march to the north edges of the Sierra 648
[along the foothills?] accompanied by the native captain, Joasps, going to 797
his Ranchería of Chischa where the reunion for the funeral celebration was
to take place. Arrived at 8 P.M. There came out to receive me 7 captains from 574

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various parts, of which 2 were Telame, he of Choynoco, and 4 from other
797 rancherías of the Roblar in the vicinity of the mountains. They begged me
574 to come and see them all. I made suitable precautions without letting it be
known, casually dispatched my horse, and accompanied by two interpreters
directed myself first within the ranchería of these Chischeses. They pressed
upon me various dishes of atoles and pinoles, which I tasted in order not to
[162] offend them, and they were satisfied. I counted 437 able-bodied young men
in the walk I took, and about 600 women and children all placed before this
● [361] village. Across the front of the ranchería I counted 358 double paces [*pasos
dobles*] which makes 624 yards [*varas*], and across its back 432 paces or 756
yards in the form of an imperfect half moon. All [the houses] are of mats and
[342] willow branches. In front of the ranchería were the guests, all separated,
where I directed myself along with the captains who accompanied me. Each
of them were in little groups; thus men, women, and children were presented
[162] to me, and it was not possible to count them as I had done with the Chischas.
However, the number of young men was not less than 600, and some 200
young women.

[162] When I walked behind the Ranchería of Chischa I immediately came upon
the arroyo which was near by. On its banks, I found more than 100 middle-
[252] aged women washing seeds for the atoles of the guests, while other younger
ones were grinding these seeds on stones as is their custom [copy of Nov. 19:
with large baskets of thick acorn mush].

[Copy of Nov. 19, Notes: Of the Ranchería of Chischa nothing was known
162 until now. Its people, and those of their neighboring friends who were found
assembled, presented in number some 2400 persons, all of comely appearance. Their number should be greater, judging by the scarcity (*cortedad*) of people seen, not counting the young people who were no doubt hiding in the willows which encircle the neighborhood of the river. This was proved when the sergeant of the rear-guard party saw more than 200, women, lads, little girls and boys, come out from the river edge beside it to look at us, and told me of it in a moment.

Of the population of natives who inhabit the Roblar, and from there along the Sierra to the Ranchería of Apalame, there are, or there ought to be more inhabitants in it. The number of people which I calculate could be Christianized is from 5 to 6 thousand, little more. This is from the rancherías of the lakes and rivers.]

648 After finishing my walk with the captains, I made known to them all the
objects and ends of my coming. They assured me that they had among them
797 no more Christians than that one from Choinoco who had been brought to
me, nor had any come to Chischa. Thus neither their captain Joaspa nor his
people had ever seen troops, this being the first time that they had reached
them. Though long ago some passed below [this was Don Gabriel Moraga in
his reconnaissance made in 1806], they only heard of it through their friends
from Telame. Joaspa and the other captains wished to trade with us, save
that we lived very far from them, and that they could not cross [the valley]

769 meat, venison (*benados*), and antelope (*? berrendos*) that there are in abundance,
262 flour and mush, concluded by paying them all with beads and baskets,
and they left for their homes.][4]

They offered to care for the horses, and [said] that if I wished to leave
648 some of them during our interval and return for them, they would maintain
them as the Telames had done before [for Moraga?]. I excused myself in
good style and turned toward the west for Telame [Telamni]. I arrived there
[887] at 6 P.M., having left at 2:30, and walked from the retreat of the captain of
[361] the Chischas 8 leagues. In this rancheria [of Telame] I found 14 old women
and 9 old men who were not at the fiesta. One of them sent me a pullet [*polla*]
[43] to sup upon [copy of Nov. 19: for which I sent back some corn flour]. Telame
is distant from Chischa nearly 5 leagues, to the west, and from where I slept, 9.

Saturday, 30.—At 5 A.M. left for the Rancheria of Tontache with guides
648 which the Indians gave me. At different times we took routes to the east,
797 northwest, and south because of the many arroyos, tule-filled lakes, and
sloughs of muddy water which there are in this great Roblar. From this we
[133] got out at 2 P.M and went west as far as the San Gabriel River. We reached
the place of La Cruz at 4 P.M., having gone 13 leagues. At 5 o'clock 4 Indians
of Tontache came bringing fish and ducks, and invited me to go to their
rancheria in the morning. For although their captain and the greater part
of the people were at Buenavista [for the fiesta], the few who remained
wished to receive the troop and to know me, as they had learned of us from
the Indians of Soledad.

Sunday, 31.—After having told the rosary I left at 7 A.M. for Tontache,
[361] leaving the burdens in camp, and arrived at 9, at a distance 3 leagues to the
west. I found it situated on the side of Lake Bubal [Tulare Lake] [copy of
Nov. 19: on fairly muddy land which could not be traversed on horseback].
[162] I entered it with only one soldier and two interpreters and counted 103 comely
young men, all with bows and arrows, and some 200 souls among the old men,
old women, and children. They delivered up to me two Christians from San
Miguel, and they sent in search of three that had retreated to the interior of
the lake among the tules. They begged me to pardon them, for they were all
either their sons or brothers. I exhorted them not to detain any Christian
in the future even though he were a relative. At the time I was taking my
leave I had notice from an Indian who came from Buenavista that Lieutenant
Moraga had arrived there four days before, and that he could do nothing as
the Indians had scattered into that lake. And that the people invited [to the
fiesta] had also retreated from fright, and he had come to tell the news to
their relatives. At about 12 P.M. I returned to camp and reached it at 2 P.M.
The ground is sticky, salty and much under water.

These Indians corroborated the fact that they had knowledge of my leaving Soledad through the Tacho Indians and that I would come through this country. But believing themselves to be without fault they had remained quietly on their land, though many others had fled into the lake, from which 648 they did not wish to come out. [They said] that the news had gone out in all 797 directions through the valley, and that I would not find any Indians in their principal villages as far as the horse-killers to the north [*a los matadores de caballada del Norte*] since these were living scattered in the mountains and swamps.

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[4] It appears that Estudillo obtained this description perhaps from an interpreter, as he was not, according to the continuing entry, an eyewitness.

Monday, November 1.—At 5 A.M. started toward the north for the Ranchería of Taches with guides from Tontache. It is distant 12 leagues. I arrived [361] at this site or location at 4 P.M. crossing saline, miry land. With much trouble [133] we passed four sloughs full of water and tules, and so sticky that finally Ygnacio Solo's horse could not get out, and he and his munitions got wet all over. The swamp which I crossed today is very miry, having crossed four times today a slough full of mud and water in the same swamp.

One league away from San Gabriel River [copy of Nov. 19: Kings River] five Indians of the vicinity were seen running for the swamp. Although I sent the Indian interpreter Antonio in pursuit to speak to them he could not follow. For which, and because the mire and the immense swamp where they had fled could not be crossed, I sent him off instead with his companion, and it ended [with their] bringing news that all the Indians of Tache had disappeared from fear of us because of what Augustin and Pasqual, neophytes at Soledad, had told them, saying that the troop had left to come and kill them, and catch the fleeing Christians. Because of this their two captains (whose return they await today) had set out with 9 Christians for that mission. Other natives had taken various routes [in flight?]. I ordered sent out to them a Christian named Victor, to say for my part that all was to the contrary of what they had been told; that they were not to believe said Christians, and still less if they were renegades; and that they, the natives, should come to be with me. He returned at 9 at night, bringing with him two natives who told me the same as had Antonio. I made them understand the opposite, and that it was extraordinary since this Ranchería of Tache was so obligated to the soldiers for their friendliness for many years, and that on different occasions they had fought with them against their enemies; that they had always come out to receive us [the Spaniards] but they had not done so for me. To which they replied that the reason was because of the news given by Augustin and Pasqual, as they said the Christians wanted to kill them, and they believed it. Because of this the two captains were taking back those that could be caught. They questioned why we should wish to do them injury since they had never taken nor killed a single horse when they had cared for them many times before this. I made them put aside their fear, making them understand the contrary, but that nevertheless I had to recapture all the Christian renegades and send them to their missions. And that if they wished to maintain our friendship they should not shelter anyone; and that hereafter, if any runaways from whatever mission should present themselves, as true friends of ours they should return those persons quickly. Even if they were relatives of the ranchería they should censure them and make them do the same.

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Immediately the troop knew of my resolution they showed repugnance, and advised the sergeant to dissuade me from going alone, to obviate any attempt 648 [at crime] from the barbarians seeing the opportunity. But having burned my hand with some powder in their sight [the natives?], I could not go on to the ranchería, and sent the Indian interpreter, Antonio, with several others to go and bring me an idea of the situation. With this I saw them off; they left saddened by my accident, but the soldiers remained satisfied, so I was told.

At 11 P.M. the interpreter returned with his companions and the captains Cullas and Chilaxas to guide us to the Notonto ranchería. The former told me that part of the Tache had fled within the waters, and were living on a huge balsa of tule without fire [copy of Nov. 19: nor warm food]. That there [501] was much mire in the swamp as far as the outlet of the lake, where they had some little balsas, and in order to reach it they had already prepared for me a very fine large one.

Wednesday, 3.—An envoy from Tontache arrived at 5 A.M. to tell me that Lieutenant Don Gabriel Moraga had returned to Buenavista Lake and had seized the Indians in a cañon, among them 9 Christians; the others had fled. He who brought the news had left on the 30th and walked day and night to give it. From the north news was just received of fighting with the troop from San Francisco. Many natives had been killed, but they had killed a soldier and wounded several.[7] I sent this native back to tell his companions that the killing of the soldiers and the wounding of the others was false.

At 6 A.M. I left for the Ranchería of Notonto 7 leagues to the north [on the] shore of San Gabriel River [copy of Nov. 19: Kings River], so I was told. I took to the east across a plain of miry and saline land as far as Kings River where their ranchería is situated.

At a distance of 2 leagues before reaching it, there came out on the road [361 three Notontos Indians, one of them with three cakes of meal [*tortas de pan de arroz*] with which they regaled the guides and other Indians. At a 262] distance of 700 yards [*varas*] the village could already be seen. And there was presented to me an Indian of the same Notontos who had already known the troop, who was called Manuel Pinto. With considerable assurance he told me the names of the captains found together, which was what I wanted. I answered that the reunion would be celebrated, and that I would like to see them. He answered that he would advise them, and that I should wait. With scorn I sent him off, saying that I would arrive where they all were before he did. Charging all [the troop] with great vigilance, I presented myself before the natives whom I found lined up and without arms (any Indians who presented themselves with bows would be treated like enemies).

Accompanied by four soldiers I went into their midst and through the interpreter ordered the captains brought together. There were the following: [622] Taija [*tiya?*] an old captain, and Chata his nephew, new captain of the No-

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[7] This was apparently the expedition under Sergeant Jose Sanchez; *cf.* W. Egbert Schenck, Historic Aboriginal Groups of the California Delta Region, UC-PAAE 23:129, 1926.

000 river well hidden. At dawn we departed to arrive at daybreak at the place where I had been told I would find the Ranchería of Chaneches, and the captain, Sola, a Christian from Santa Cruz, with others from that mission. The journey made today has been 12 leagues through the middle of marshes, tulares, willow thickets, and sloughs. In one of these there fell and died a mule from San Miguel. The sky covered with clouds, and with a south wind. At 7 P.M. rain commenced. At 8 P.M. the herd stampeded and was recovered with difficulty. One soldier lost his horse and gun. I crossed [recrossed?] the river at 10 o'clock [that night, or following morning?].

Monday, 8.—It rained all night, with the wind south. It began to clear, with less water. I re-counted the horses; 28 were lacking, but soon recovered. Also at 11 A.M., up to which time it rained slightly, the gun was found. At once started the march as it was said to be 9 leagues to Ranchería Caneche, for the purpose of nearing it. After going 4 leagues I saw the bones of long-dead horses at a slough. I followed it and got lost because of the swamps and tules that are along the margins of the river. I wound about through various [361] sloughs partly filled with water; others were passable. On their banks among the tules were built many huts such as the Indians sleep in; but by the signs they [the owners] were already gone many days.

136 In all the sloughs about the river that had water were many fish; a very savory kind of anchovy, pike [?, *mojarras*], and many shellfish, of which the troop and I ate abundantly.

As far as this spot I have observed along all the said sloughs and in some parts on the river banks on which there are trees, many burrows [*abujeros*] of beavers or nutrias in fresh water.

000 I sent off [men] on foot to follow the horsetracks or in case an Indian were seen on foot. Not having encountered anyone, I followed the road north for 6 leagues [copy of Nov. 19: 4 leagues]. At night we stopped at a slough where we found water and the same signs of beaver.

Tuesday, 9.—At dawn sent four Indians to take note of the many sloughs and swamps of this plain to look for fords and the road to be followed to the [487] Chineches and the Merced River. They returned at 8 A.M. saying that they had not found a single track, and that they could not journey toward the east because of the swamps and tules. Therefore, I followed the north shore of the San Joaquin River. After going about 2 leagues I saw a lone Indian, laden with belongings, on the opposite side of the river; I followed and overtook him. Having asked him several questions to discover where the Cheneches [copy of Nov. 19: Chaneches] were located, he declared that he had been going along alone many days, that all the people had scattered for fear of the troops from San Francisco, and because they knew of my coming according to notice communicated by the natives from rancherías to the south. In reconnoitering the site only one house for one person was found. Having to threaten the man to tell and to lead me to said ranchería, he maintained ignorance and continued to insist that that was the place where he had left them, and that since that time he had seen no one. I secured the Indian, forded

the river toward the east, then going about 4 leagues we turned south [copy 000
of Nov. 19: and crossed another time] and found signs of there having been a ranchería. There were parts of dead horses there and a sweat house of considerable capacity. Going 4 leagues more, and almost in front of my halting place of the day before, he pointed out on the other shore of the river a great willow thicket and tular, saying that it [the Chaneche ranchería] was on those banks. We went there and found four old balsas which we could not use. I had to cross by swimming and maneuvering about [*bola pie*] with considerable trouble because of the obstacles, the great density of trees, willows and 137
zarzamora on both sides. It was necessary to enter partly on canes [?. *entrar* 342
en parte arrodillados] as far as the ranchería, which was found abandoned. 361
It was composed solely of the same tules, their ends bent [?, *dobladas sus puntas*] like those I had seen on the shores of the river and sloughs, the miserable huts all scattered and without any order.

From this native I learned that at this Ranchería of Chineches all the rene- 797
gade Christians from Santa Cruz, Santa Clara, San Francisco, and Soledad 648
had gathered in a considerable number. [He said] that Pomponio, Baltazar, and a Clareño came to it frequently; that six days ago they arrived with twelve horses and a piece of cloth that they had stolen in the neighborhood of the town and mission of Santa Clara. [He said] that when he retreated he
left them there, and they had not as yet seen us; that since they always rode [492]
bareback they had no halters.

All the San Joaquin River and the arroyo of Santa Rita is studded with [137]
groves of a very large species of willow. In the largest the natives knew to watch in such a way over a great distance, for so large is this plain which they call Los Tulares that anyone is seen who comes on foot, or still better, on horseback. Today we made 12 leagues with considerable trouble because of our exposure.

Wednesday, 10.—It now seemed impracticable to continue north to the Merced River in search of an Indian village, which, according to my calculations would be 12 leagues away. For as I see it, it would have been already abandoned for many days by both natives and the renegade Christians who live with them. They would be hidden in the tules and swamps whose inviolability is a complete certainty, the more so since they carry nothing with them,
and get about easily with their knowledge of the country. And already having [484]
news of this and the San Francisco expedition they would take special precautions, not even making the fires which they usually make when traveling [copy of Nov. 19: with which they are accustomed to signal when our people are traveling] on the plain. Considering the time wasted, I resolved to return to the Presidio.

Started at 6 A.M. guided by the same Indian, going toward the east [?. *oriente;* copy of Nov. 19 does not give the direction] for the Santa Rita River. I reached there at 4 P.M. having gone 11 leagues through swamps, etc.

I learned from this native named Lutuays, and from the Indian interpreters whom I brought from Soledad that in that mission he had two Chris-

[P.39 B]

Western Mono NS25

W 161 127

for the North Fork Mono, the inhabitants must have numbered 280. One of the rancherias seen by Derby was Cho-e-mime which had 70 "warriors." Reckoning the "warriors" as half the males the population would have been 280. Derby says the village of Notonto (of the tribe Nutunutu on the south bank of the lower Kings) had 300 inhabitants. These places were of course relatively large and important and do not represent the general average. However, the village of Notonto must have reached fully 150 persons.

Y *[161] [39]

Apart from the Mono, the tribes located on the Kings River were all Yokuts, as follows: Aiticha, Apiachi, Wimilchi, Nutunutu, Wechihit, Toihichi, Chukomina, and Choinimni. For these the modern ethnographers Kroeber, Gayton, Latta, and Stewart have been able to locate and identify 25 villages inhabited during the youth of informants. Since this covers a somewhat larger territory than was seen by Derby, the correspondence in number of rancherias is reasonably close. At 150 persons per village the population would be 3,750. If we add 1,700 for the Kings River Mono, the total is 5,450. However, there may have been some overlap, so this figure may be reduced to 5,000. It should be noted that the area embraced within this estimate includes the Kings River basin as a whole, together with that of all its affluents.

Y *161 127

The Kaweah River from Lemon Cove to the town of Tulare diverges to form a delta, which originally contained a very large native population. At the time of the American occupation there had occurred a material reduction, which was accelerated by the fact that the region provided excellent farming land for the entering Americans. Hence the value for the population in 1850-1853 must be relatively low in comparison with preceding decades. In May, 1851, according to G. W. Barbour (1853, pp. 253-255) there were 7 tribes on the Kaweah, and 1,200 people came to treat with the commissioners. These tribes included the following: Chunut, Choinok, Wolasi, Telamni, Gawia, Yokod, and Wukchamni. Of these, the first, the Chunut, inhabited the shore of Lake Tulare and should not be included as a Kaweah River tribe. The estimated population of the remainder would, therefore, be approximately 1,000, if the figure of the commissioners is to be taken without qualification.

With respect to the individual tribes there are a few scattered bits of information. Derby (1852) mentions three rancherias or bands in the area: Cowees (Gawia) with 200 people, Thulime (Telamni) with 65 men, or roughly 200 people, and Heame-a-tahs (Telamni) with 200 people. Merriam in his "Yokuts List" cites an informant who said that the Wukchumne "used to number" 5,000 and occupied the valley now called Lemon Cove and up and down the Kaweah River. Clearly this is an extreme overestimate, unless the informant was referring to the period prior to 1800. Finally Merriam cites a letter by Lt. N. H. McLean, which states that the "Four Creeks Country" included the "Cahwiahs, Okuls, Choimux, Wicktrumnees, Talumnies" and in 1853 had not over 1,200 souls.[4]

It thus appears quite evident that the six Yokuts tribes, except perhaps the Wukchumni, had no more than 200 persons apiece during the era under consideration. From modern informants Kroeber, Gayton, and Latta have obtained for the Choinok, Gawia, Telamni, Yokod, and Wolasi collectively the names of only 8 villages. Assuming the Kings River value of 150 persons per village,

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[4] Merriam's manuscript entitled "Yokuts List" mentions a report from Lt. N. H. McLean, dated July 13, 1853, to H. J. Wessels, on file in "Old Files Division," Adjutant General's Office, Washington, no. N368. As far as I am aware, this letter has never been quoted elsewhere.

[P.43B]

*161 A further problem of importance illustrated by our data for Bubal is the extent to which population estimates for villages were affected by local fugitivism or temporary scattering of the natives at the advent of the Spaniards. Very frequently the explorers left notations that the inhabitants of a certain rancheria had fled, or that many were absent. It seems clear that even by the year 1800 the natives were all too well aware of the purpose of the missionaries and soldiers and took measures to defeat that purpose. For this reason, remarkable as it may appear, the largest estimates are likely to have been the most accurate.

Returning now to the population of Bubal we find Martin counting "no less" than 200 children in 1804, indicating a total number somewhere in the vicinity of 1,300; although most of the adults apparently had absconded. In 1806 the same situation arose and Moraga found only 400 left in the village. In 1814 Cabot estimated that the village contained 700 people, despite the fact that some may have been missing. The apparent increase in 1814 can be very simply explained by the assumption that fewer natives had fled the village than had done so when Moraga arrived. Cabot's figure may be quite near the truth for the year 1814 since we must concede a drastic overall reduction of population in the area between 1804 and 1814. Certainly the population can never have been less than 700. The weight of the evidence at hand thus indicates that the estimate based upon Martin's account, i.e., 1,300 persons, is essentially sound.

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Further evidence of collateral importance is derived from consideration of the location of the village of Bubal. Gifford and Schenck (1926, p. 27) place Bubal on Atwell's Island, near Alpaugh, in T23S, R23E, that is, on the east side of Lake Tulare. Neither Martin (in 1804) nor Moraga (Muñoz diary of 1806) locates the rancheria with any precision but Cabot (1815) left San Miguel on October 2, 1814, and on October 3 traveled over an immense plain, arriving late in the day at Bubal, on the shore of a big lake. This can have been only Lake Tulare and the west shore thereof. The next year Ortega (1815), approaching from the north or northwest, passed through Sumtache (i.e., Chunut) and went on to Bubal, where he arrived late at night, not having been able to find the village ". . . por haverse mudado de su sitio propio. . ." Estudillo was the next visitor who has left us a detailed account of this area. On October 22, 1819, he went from near Cholam to a place called Los Alisos near the edge of the foothills of the coast range. On October 23 he went across the plain and on October 24 arrived at Bubal, obviously from the west, and found it deserted, adding the comment that the village ". . . manifesto aver ya dias q. se fueron a otra parte." The following day he pushed five leagues south through tule swamp and found the settlement on the bank of the lake although his soldiers had to wade waist deep for two leagues farther in order to catch most of the inhabitants. Apropos of this incident he says regarding Bubal: "Esta es la rancheria de gentiles mas immediata a las misiones, y la q. con mayor frecuencia se hacen cristianos en la de San Miguel."

From these accounts it is very clear that the original site of Bubal was on the west, not the east, shore of the lake and that because of the depredations of the Spaniards the inhabitants fled into the lake itself, where they made at least temporary settlements. That these became their permanent home is attested by the fact that no later than 1826 Pico stated that Bubal was situated on an island in the lake. Subsequently contemporary writers as well as the modern ethnographers agree that the principal village

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*161 •361 648 of the Wowol was on Atwell's Island.

From the demographic point of view the chief justification for tracing the migration of Bubal in the first two decades of the nineteenth century is to indicate how the constant pressure of the Spaniards, through incessant military expeditions, could affect the population. Through a series of years, their native village site having become untenable, the people of Bubal were forced to seek precarious and inadequate shelter whereever they might find it in the depths of the tule swamps until ultimately they could establish themselves in a new home, an island fortress where they might remain relatively undisturbed. Starvation, casual massacre, and disease coupled with exposure must have strongly reduced the total number. Hence a 50 per cent decrease in ten or fifteen years—from Martin to Cabot and Estudillo—is not at all surprising.

*161 The Chunut were first visited by Martin in 1804, who designated their principal rancheria Chuntache but gave no population figures. Two years later, in 1806, it was seen by Moraga, who called it Tunctache and said it had 250 people. Cabot in 1814 said there were 700 persons and Ortega in 1815 found 20 males. Estudillo in 1819 found 103 young braves ("indios gallardos mozos") and 200 women, old men, and children. However, he also states that the captain and "la mayor parte de la gente" were away on a visit toward Lake Buenavista.

The estimates of Cabot and Estudillo appear to be quite reliable. Cabot describes Bubal and then passes on to Suntache. The latter place he says had a population "about the same as the preceding," or 700 persons. Since Estudillo took the pains to count the young men precisely, his remaining estimate must be fairly correct. The total thus is 303 persons present plus more than the same number of absentees, or approximately 700.

Since the location and history of Tuntache was very similar to that of Bubal and since in the period 1815-1819 the population was nearly the same, it is very probable that there was a reduction in population at the former village analogous to that seen at the latter. Although we have no concrete data, such as Martin's report for Bubal in 1804, which may be applied to Tuntache, it may be assumed with safety that the aboriginal inhabitants of this rancheria numbered at least 1,200.

The third lake tribe was the Tachi. This tribe, or its principal village, was first recorded by Martin in 1804. He gives no direct figures but implies that there were 4,000 inhabitants, although he may have been referring to the entire lake area. The next visitor of consequence was Cabot in 1814 who stated that Tache ". . . segun presenta y por la caseria que la compone . . ." had 1,000 souls. At a distance of two leagues he found another rancheria, Guchame, which may have belonged to the same tribe, which ". . . segun presenta
[648] y informes tomados no pasara de 200 almas . . ." The next year Ortega attacked the rancheria but the people had been warned and had all fled when he entered. They had not returned, moreover, in 1819, when they were seen by Estudillo. They must have been in bad straits, because Estudillo found them living deep in the swamp, in a "gran Bolson de Tule, sin poder tener lumbre." Estudillo gives no figures but he makes the interesting
[622] comment that the Tachi had four chiefs and that the rancheria (or tribe) had several "parts," each at some distance from the others. This raises the question whether Cabot saw the only rancheria of the tribe or

*161 16A 731 from measles, dysentery, and other contagious maladies introduced by the whites. The whole picture is one of ruinous devastation in the Kaweah delta just prior to 1816, with accompanying disorganization of the local economy and reduction of population.

The effect of war, disease, and starvation cannot be emphasized too strongly, nor can mention be made of them too often. On account of their debilitating influence the populations seen in the Kaweah delta and reported in the documents cannot possibly be overestimates of the aboriginal number. On the contrary, they undoubtedly represent too low, rather than too high, a figure.

*161 ● 361 Reverting now to the villages reported, Moraga mentions eight places, four of them by name or other specific reference. Martinez mentions four, all by name. Cabot refers to Telame as the largest village in the Tulares. Elsewhere (MS, 1818) he states that before reaching Telame there are five rancherias, including Quiuamine and Yulumne. Quiuamine is no doubt the Quihuama of Martinez.

Telame was one village, according to all observers except Moraga (actually Muñoz, who wrote the diary). Moraga ascribes 600 people to the first Telame and 200 to the second. The first estimate, be it noted, was "segun corto computo," or according to a short count. The estimate must therefore on Moraga's own admission be increased, certainly to 1,000 and perhaps more. In view of the size of the well known rancheria Bubal, fully 1,300, Telame must have contained 1,200 persons.

In addition to the two Telames Moraga mentions a "big rancheria" one league to the east. Hence there were three villages which comprised what may be termed the Telame complex. No figures were given by Moraga for the unnamed rancheria, since it was entirely deserted. However, since it was regarded as "big," there must have been several hundred inhabitants, say 500. The total for the triad then would have reached nearly 2,000.

The Martinez description is apparently somewhat at variance with that of his predecessor. Martinez saw, cites distances for, and mentions by name three rancherias: Telame, Lihuauhilame, and Gelecto. They were located within a radius of one league of each other and must correspond to the three seen by Moraga. Gelecto was in ruins, with only the cemetery still in evidence. Hence Gelecto may very well have been the big, deserted rancheria of Moraga. Martinez gives no population data for Telame but says there were 300 heads of families in Lihuauhilame, which was, therefore, without much doubt the largest of the three. According to Moraga's figures, Telame I was the largest. Hence the concordance seems to be that Telame, Lihuauhilame, and Gelecto of Martinez correspond respectively to Telame II, Telame I and the "big" rancheria of Moraga. As pointed out previously, the total inhabitants to be deduced from 300 heads of families, under the conditions existing in 1816 was 1,200. This is twice the estimate of Moraga.

*161 An important point arises here with respect to Moraga's estimates. At Bubal, it will be remembered, Martin found evidence of 1,300 people in 1804 whereas Moraga reported only 400 in 1806. At Lihuauhilame Martinez found according to the statement of the village chief 1,200, although Moraga had reported ten years previously only 600. Furthermore Cabot, at Bubal eight years after Moraga, found 700 persons. For these two important villages therefore Moraga differs flatly with three other competent authorities by a factor of two or three. Similar instances may be found elsewhere in

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*161 between the years 1806 and 1816. We may then apply the correction factor of 2 and get 600 as the most probable number in 1806. Such a value is also consistent with the status of the Choinok as an independent tribal entity of the Kaweah basin, although it does not take into account any reduction in population prior to the expedition of Moraga. There was doubtless such a reduction, but since we have no direct evidence bearing upon the matter it will be better to let the figure 600 stand.

The total for the Kaweah delta group (Telamni, Wolasi, Choinok) is 3,800. This is indeed surprising but the figure perhaps is corroborated by the statement of the Franciscan President for the California missions, Father Payeras—made in support of the establishment of new missions in the valley—that the Telame district alone contained 4,000 unconverted heathen.

[[101]] The middle Kaweah above Visalia was inhabited by the Gawia, Yokod, and Wukchamni. The Gawia are represented in Moraga's account by Eaguea (300 inhabitants) and the Yokod by Cohochs (100 inhabitants). The Wukchamni were by far the most numerous and for an excellent account of them we are indebted to Estudillo. This officer, in addition to being a competent field commander, appears to have been a scholar and a gentleman. His report on the Wukchamni village of Chischa is unquestionably the most complete and accurate left us by any of the Spanish explorers and as such is worth discussing in detail.

Estudillo was the first white man to see Chischa. On this point he is very explicit:

> . . . su capitan joaspe, ni su gente jamas havian visto tropa, siendo esta la primera vez q. havilan llegado alli, pues hace mucho tiempo paso por abajo (este fue D. Gabriel Moraga en el reconocimiento q. hizo en 1806) y solo noticia tubo por sus amigos de Telame . . .

Consequently, allowing for possible communicable disease, Chischa was in its aboriginal state when Estudillo saw it.

Chischa was 5 leagues east of Telame and 3 leagues
*161 from Choinocko. This places the village, according to
● 361 the maps of Kroeber and of Gayton, at or just above Lemon Cove in the territory ascribed by these ethnographers to the Wukchamni. Estudillo measured off the dimensions of the village by pacing. The shape was semilunar, crescentic or approximately that of the sector of a circle. The short side ("por su frente") was 624 varas long and the long side ("por la espalda") was 756 varas. A figure plotted on coördinate paper to scale shows that the area was 80,000 square varas. On the assumption that the Spanish vara equaled a yard, and that an average city block measures 300 feet on a side, the village of Chischa would have covered eight city blocks.

*161 Estudillo caused the Indians living in the village to form a line before the town, with the men in a single file and the women and children massed in front of them. He counted the men and found that there were exactly 437 warriors ("jovenes de arma") and "como 600 mugeres y ninos." According to the translation made for Merriam (MS in his collection):

> Then I went opposite where the invited guests were lodged, and as they all, men and women and boys and girls were presented to me in a confused

THE KINGS RIVER

*161 101 131 The next region to be considered is the basin of the Kings River. Like the Kaweah, this stream may be divided into three sectors. The first comprises the delta and slough area southwest of Kingsburg and was the home of the Yokuts tribes, Apiachi, Wimilchi, and Nutunutu (area 4A). The second includes the valley margin and foothills, with the tribes Wechihit, Aiticha, Choinimni, Chukamina, Michahai, and Emtimbich (area 4B). The third is in the higher foothills and embraces the territory of the Mono groups, Wobunuch and Holkoma (area 4C).

The Kings River sloughs were first described in 1804 *161 by Martin, who mentions the tribe, or rancheria, of Notonto (Nutunutu) but gives no population data. The next visitor was Moraga in 1806. In the diary of the expedition, written by Father Muñoz, no mention is made of Notonto but in the appended "List of rancherias visited in this trip and the one in April" are included Notonto I with 300 persons and Notonto II with 100. Estudillo saw the region in 1819 and said that Notonto (only one village of this name is mentioned) had 303 men "todos gente robusta y de armas." He also saw a few old women and children. Since the men are of the same type ("robust warriors") and were carefully counted in the same way as at Chischa, the same ratio of warriors to total inhabitants may be used. A population of 866 is thus indicated or, in round numbers, 850. Estudillo also says there were four chiefs, one each of [622] the "Notontos," Gumilche, Guchetema, and Tateguy. The Nutunutu are thus clearly segregated from the Wimilchi (Gumilche). The other two names cannot be traced and may indeed have been those of individuals. The "guimilchis," in the meantime, had been seen in 1815 by Pico, who says that they had at least two rancherias.

From the ethnographers we get indication of six ● [361] villages: of the Apiachi, the village of Wohui (Kroeber, Gayton, Latta); of the Nutunutu, the villages of Chiau (Kroeber, Gayton, Latta), Hibekia (Kroeber), Honotau (Gayton), and Kadestiu (Latta); of the Wimilchi, the village of Ugona (Kroeber, Gayton, Latta). If these villages actually existed in the early years of the nineteenth century, they can scarcely have held less than 250 persons apiece and the population would have been in the vicinity of 1,500.

From the Spanish accounts we find evidence of at [361] least four villages: originally two (perhaps later one) of the Nutunutu and two of the Wimilchi. One of the latter may have been in fact the principal village of the Apiachi. The Nutunutu, whether as a single village or as a tribe, seem to have amounted to fully 850 persons at the time of Estudillo. Since these groups had been exposed to expeditions beginning in 1804, it is very probable that they had undergone considerable attrition before they were observed by Estudillo. This point of view is supported by Estudillo's remark that he requested the warriors of Notonto to meet him without their weapons because this rancheria "es la mas velicosa y terrible de los Tulares." Hence it is quite probable that the aboriginal population reached 1,200. A value of 500 may be assigned arbitrarily to the other villages or tribes, for Estudillo mentions three chiefs apart from the Notontos and Pico says that the Wimilchi had at least two rancherias. The probable aboriginal population for the entire area is therefore 1,700.

By the year 1850 the tribes of the Kings River delta were represented, according to the account of G. H.

[P. 50A]

*161 Derby, only by the rancheria of Notonto which then had 300 inhabitants. The population had thus fallen to 17.6 per cent of its former value. A footnote to the decline of the native inhabitants in this region is the fact that within a year or two after Derby's visit the village of [648] Notonto was attacked by American cattlemen and farmers. The rancheria was devastated and 200 of the 300 people present were massacred in cold blood.

For the second sector of the Kings River we are dependent primarily upon the record of the Moraga expedition. Moraga and Muñoz evidently covered the river from the vicinity of Reedley to, or nearly to, the junction of the main stream and Mill Creek. The villages mentioned by them belonged principally to the Aiticha and the Choinimni. The Wechihit and the Toihicha may have been included but the Chukamina, Michahai, and Emtimbich seem to have been overlooked. Hence the figures given by Moraga are undoubtedly incomplete.

On October 16, 1806, having arrived from the San Joaquin River two days previously, Moraga sent out two scouting parties. One went upstream and found a ● [361] rancheria of "como de 60 almas," called Ayquiche (or Aycayche). They were no doubt among the Aiticha, above Sanger. Here they heard about, but did not see, six other rancherias "sitas a la orillas del rio por la parte de la sierra." The other party went downstream and found three villages close together on a spacious plain along the banks of the river. They had a total of 400 inhabitants, but most of the people had fled. The "List of rancherias visited in this trip and the one in April" gives the names of these villages: Aycayche, which "according to the Indians" had 200 people, Ecsaa with 100, Chiaja with 100, and Xayuase with 100. In addition there was Capitau, which was very small and a "sugeto" of Xayuase. It had about 10 people. Apparently in October Muñoz and Moraga found only 60 Indians left in Aycayche, whereas in April they learned that it really contained 200. The difference must be ascribed to fugitivism.

The three downstream villages are credited by the "List" with 100 inhabitants apiece, but the diary states that there was a total of 400. The latter figure is more likely to be correct. Thus, with Aycayche, Moraga saw in this sector four villages and 600 persons. The other group of villages, six in number, was farther toward the mountains and no particular information concerning them is given in the diary. The "List," however, is more explicit. Under Aycayche it is stated:

> Aqui hay otras 6 rancherias que no se pudieron reconocer y son todos, segun la noticia de los indios de esta rancheria como del porte de almas de Pizcache.

Pizcache is said to contain 200 souls. An aggregate of 1,200 persons is therefore indicated or, for the entire region seen by Moraga, 1,800.

The middle course of the Kings River has been discussed in the preceding section and it has been pointed out that in the middle of the nineteenth century this region was relatively heavily populated. The accounts of several contemporary observers indicate that in 1850 or thereabouts somewhere between 2,000 and 4,000 natives were still to be found between the remnants of the Nutunutu on the west and the foothills Mono on the east. The ethnographic data supplied by Kroeber, Gayton, Latta, and Stewart show approximately 25 villages remembered by informants. If we use the fairly conservative average of 150 persons per village, the total

12: Cook S-4 (no date) 1955 NS29 Yokuts NS29

[P. 5/B]

177 village life completely—as is suggested by the fact that
the rancheria was "divided" when the horses arrived. In
*161 order to catch the horses for food other horses were
essential for rapid transportation to and from the coastal
262 settlements. New arts and skills had to be learned, and
new categories of labor had to be evolved.

Rodriguez found among the Hoyima as a whole 87 to
107 live horses (27 captured, 60-80 in the wilderness),
which were presumably about to be killed and eaten,
together with 100 animals already slaughtered. The
total thus reached approximately 200. The question now
is pertinent: how much food can be obtained from 200
horses? If we assume that each of these relatively light
range animals weighed 800 pounds, we may deduct about
25 per cent to account for bones, hide, certain of the
viscera, and other inedible parts, leaving 600 pounds
which the Indians could and did consume. The aggregate
is 120,000 pounds of meat. If this meat was dried and
preserved, according to general practice, it was suffi-
[251] cient to supply 329 persons the equivalent of one pound
of fresh meat per day for one calendar year. If it had
to be consumed immediately or within a few days, and
if every man, woman, and child ate 20 pounds apiece,
it was adequate for 6,000 people. If the entire tribe, not
merely one rancheria, divided the meat into equal shares,
and if the tribe numbered 1,000 persons, then the share
of each individual amounted to 120 pounds. Whether these
figures are strictly accurate is irrelevant. They merely
emphasize that a quite sizable group must have been
concerned. We may therefore regard the Hoyima as being
as large a tribe as the Pitcache, and estimate that the
population was at least 1,000.

The remaining two tribes in the valley proper, as
*161 listed by Kroeber and others, were the Heuchi and the
[10] Chauchila. They occupied the north bank of the Fresno
River and the distributaries of the Chowchilla River.
[131] The ethnographic data include no more than one or two
villages for each tribe. The Heuchi are referred to by
Rodriguez, who says that the rancheria of the "Jeuche"
was completely deserted. However, since it was the
principal tribal village, it must have contained at least
200 persons. The Chauchila were also noticed by Rodri-
guez, who says that at "Chausila" he "captured" 142
people and "killed many." If we concede that as many
escaped as were captured or killed, there must have
been fully 400 in all.

101 The Nupchenches, although they are merely mentioned
131 as a possible tribe by Kroeber (Handbook, p. 485) and
are doubtfully recorded by Schenck (1926), occupied an
important position in the early nineteenth century. In-
*161 deed, the failure of Kroeber and Schenck to consider
them seriously makes it necessary to set forth in some
detail the information about them contained in the Span-
ish reports.

These natives were distributed along the San Joaquin
River from its big bend near Mendota to approximately
the mouth of the Merced (see map 4, area 5A). The first
mention of them is by Moraga in the diary of 1806. He
found two rancherias, Nupchenche with 250 people and
Cutucho with 400 souls which was "junto a la primera
llamada Nupchenche." This means that Cutucho was close
to but at that time not necessarily part of Nupchenche.
●[361] From the description in the diary Nupchenche was situ-
ated at or near the mouth of Santa Rita Slough in T9S,
R12E, and this is almost exactly where Schenck places
it on his map (Schenck, 1926, p. 133). The next visitor
who left a record was José Dolores Pico in 1815. On
*161 November 7 he left San Luis Gonzaga in western Merced
County (in approximately T10S, R8E) and went east to the

*161 Tulares at "Arroyo nombrado San Jose," which was close to the rancheria of the Cheneches. At dawn of the 8th he attacked the village and captured 66 persons, but ". . . la mayor parte de esta gente se fue pr estar dha rancheria en mal parage." The gentiles said that 4 leagues up the San Joaquin River was Nupchenche, thus placing Cheneches on the river in the southern part of T8 S, R11E. This location checks well with the [361] statement made elsewhere in the diary by Pico that Cheneches was near the junction of the San Joaquin and "Las Mariposas," or Mariposa Creek. If Pico captured 66 persons but "the majority" escaped, the total number must have reached from 200 to 400, if not more.

*161 Pico then scouted Nupchenche and learned that all the inhabitants had fled. He therefore by-passed the 361 village and went 8 leagues southeast up the San Joaquin to the rancheria Copicha. This rancheria, which by the way must not be confused with the Cutucho of Moraga, was thus located on the river several miles north of Firebaugh, probably near or in T11S, R13E. As a check on this location is Pico's further statement that Copicha was in the valley of the San Joaquin "junto del Tecolote," or the Chowchilla. On November 10 he moved 8 leagues southeast from Copicha and saw haorses from the rancheria Tape, which, from the distances, was near Mendota. This view is supported by Estudillo, who saw the region in 1819 and says that the spot ". . . donde Tape tenia su rancheria" was 24 leagues south of Cheneches and 25 leagues north of Notonto. Actually, Mendota appears to be approximately halfway between these two points.

Pico mentions one other village, Malim, which he places near Cheneches. Confirmation is found in a letter of Fr. Marcelino Marquinez (MS) on May 25, 1816, stating that the Cheneches recently have killed two Christians from Malim. The latter rancheria thereupon allied itself with Notoalh and Luchamme. No other trace of the two last-named villages is found.

Other writers who mention the Nupchenches group include Fr. Antonio Jaime, who mentions Cutuchu (MS, 1816) as a rancheria from which Soto brought back gentiles, and Ortega, who, in his 1815 diary, mentions Cupicha as having been attacked by Pico. Finally Inocente Garcia in his manuscript of 1878 records an expedition against the Nupuchineches under Ignacio Vallejo. The rancheria, even in the 1830's was "muy Populosa." The expedition captured 100 warriors and 300 of all ages and sexes, arguing a population of over the 300 claimed as captives.

From these accounts emerge six rancherias, each of which is mentioned independently by at least two writers. From north to south they were: Cheneches and Malim, Nupchenches and Cutucho, Copicha, Tape. Moraga says Nupchenches had 250 people and Cutucho had 400. From Pico's statement concerning captives we may ascribe a minimum of 300 to Cheneches, and Copicha, Malim, and Tape can scarcely have been much smaller. Hence the entire group can have numbered no less than 1,800 in 1816.

*161 At Tape on November 23 Pico found 16 live horses and mules recently killed together with "mucha carne enterciada." If we neglect the meat, 254 whole animals, dead or alive, were actually counted. From November 25 to 28 the party traveled steadily from Tape to Cheneches. From Tape to Cheneches inclusive they saw 500 dead horses. It is not clear whether the 238 animals seen at Tape were included in this figure. If, however, assuming that they were, we use the same ratio of dead horses to inhabitants as was discussed

*161 with respect to the Hoyima, these villages should have contained 2,500 persons. This figure is quite reasonable if we grant that the horses were to be consumed by the entire group of villages, rather than only one or two of them, and may be provisionally accepted.

On the basis of the records presented, a probable population value for the valley floor between the Merced and the Kings rivers in the decade 1810-1820 was 5,100. But this may well be an underestimate and be representative of the aboriginal population. Evidence pointing in this direction is the almost complete obliteration of these tribes before 1850. That very serious attrition was going on among these exposed people is evident from the records of all the explorers. The massacre and kidnaping described by Pico is itself significant. In addition, we have the discussion by Estudillo in 1819, who found almost the entire surviving population of Tape sick and dying. He also points out that at the moment there were no less than four expeditions, including his own, ranging up and down the open valley, bent upon destruction. To explore the problem further indirect methods must be employed. We may therefore turn to estimates based upon stream distances.

If minor local variation is disregarded, the habitat provided by the Merced and the Kings rivers from the lower foothills out to the center of the valley is in no essential respect different from that characterizing the Mariposa, the Chowchilla, the Fresno, and the San Joaquin throughout its length below the foothills. The native villages were spaced more or less uniformly
● [361] along the larger rivers. Hence an approximate proportionality should have existed between riverbank distance and the number of inhabitants. No high degree of precision can be expected from calculations based upon these premises but the method yielded rational results for the period centering around 1850 and from it the correct order of magnitude should be obtainable.

Airline distances are used for the rivers. The general course of all the streams is substantially straight and the
[33] numerous small meanders are uniform in size and occurrence throughout the area. Three river sectors are used as a basis: the lower Merced River, the middle Kings River from and including Mill Creek to Kingsburg plus the principal tributaries, and the lower Kings from Kingsburg to Lemoore. The data are compiled briefly as follows in tabular form.

River Sector	Miles in Length	Population	Persons per River Mile
Lower Merced...	32	1,750	55
Middle Kings....	75	5,000	67
Lower Kings	20	1,500	75

Despite the uneven nature of the basic information these figures show considerable internal consistency. The mileage of the San Joaquin, Fresno, Chowchilla, and Mariposa amounts collectively to approximately 190 miles (the four streams west of Kroeber's line of the valley Yokuts and down the San Joaquin as far as the mouth of Bear Creek). At 65 persons per mile (the approximate mean of the three values cited above) the population would be 12,350, or, let us say an even 12,000. This is more than double the number indicated directly by the Spanish accounts. It has been pointed out, however, that these accounts are incomplete with respect to the villages seen and recorded. Furthermore the records demonstrate a condition of severe disorganization on the part of the native society. Hence the indirectly

*161 hills, and reaching ultimately the middle altitudes of the Sierra Nevada. Four cross sections are thus obtained, differing in width but fairly uniformly including the habitats represented. It should be noted that the water surface of Lake Tulare as it existed in 1860 has been deducted from the area of the Kaweah-Tulare region; also that the two northern regions include a relatively greater expanse of uninhabitable mountain territory than do the two southern regions. The western boundary has been drawn along a line approximately five miles west of the San Joaquin River and the prolongation of its axis toward the lake. The westward extension of the Tachi toward Coalinga had to be neglected since there are no clear tribal boundaries in this area. The number of square miles was computed by township lines and the error of estimate must be considered at least plus or minus 20 per cent. The results follow:

Region	Area (sq. mi.)	Population	Population density per sq. mi.
Kaweah-Tulare	1,880	14,100	7.12
Kings	1,530	9,100	5.85
Merced	1,400	3,500	2.50
Mariposa-San Joaquin	3,760	19,000	5.05

The density of the Mariposa-San Joaquin area is quite close to that of the Kings River Basin. The Kaweah-Tulare territory has a somewhat higher density, but this finding is compatible with the known enormous concentration of population around Tulare Lake and in the Kaweah delta. The value for the Merced strip is unduly low. The discrepancy can be accounted for on two grounds. The first, already mentioned, is that this river, throughout its length, passes through a greater area of uninhabitable mountains than do many of the other streams. The second is that our estimates for the lower Merced are insufficient. They rest in essence on the single report by Moraga, who, as has been shown, tended to underestimate and who did not see, or at least did not report upon, the entire course of the lower river. Moreover there is no report at all from Spanish sources with respect to the San Joaquin between the mouth of the Chowchilla (Nupchenche group) and the mouth of the Tuolumne. That villages did exist throughout this region is attested by the illuminating account of J. J. Warner, who was a member of Ewing Young's expedition to the great valley in 1832 and 1833. (I use the text as quoted in Warner, 1890.) He says (p.28):

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> In the fall of 1832 there were a number of Indian villages on King's River, between its mouth and the mountains: also on the San Joaquin River from the base of the mountains down to and some distance below the great slough. On the Merced River from the mountains to its junction with the San Joaquin there were no Indian villages; but from about this point on the San Joaquin, as well as on all of its principal tributaries, the Indian villages were numerous; and many of these villages contained from fifty to 100 dwellings.

*161 It is noteworthy that Warner saw no villages on the lower Merced, precisely at the spot where Moraga in 1806 had recorded no less than seven. All of these must have been obliterated during the intervening twenty-six years, striking testimony to the devastation being wrought among the open valley peoples. But from the junction of the Merced and the San Joaquin rivers, along the main

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*161 contact period. The Yaudanchi on the upper Tule River also, according to Kroeber and to Latta, had 8 villages and covered considerably more territory than the Koyeti. Hence the same population may be ascribed to them. The Bokninuwad were evidently a smaller group, since Kroeber reports for them only two villages and Latta none. It would not be safe to allow them more than 200 persons. If we do so, then the tentative estimate for the three tribes must be put at a total of 1,800.

For the remainder of the territory held by the Yokuts there are only two documentary references, the diaries of Garcés in 1776 and Zalvidea in 1806. Both these writers give population data which have been subject to considerable controversy.

For the Buenavista region the four pertinent villages are mentioned by Zalvidea and are as follows:

●[361]

Village and Tribe	Houses	Men	Women	Children	Total
Malapoa (Tulamni)	...	29	22	8	59
Buenavista (Tulamni)	...	36	144	38	218
Sisipistu (Hometwoli)	28	50-60	...	...	...
Yaguelame (Yauelmani)	...	92	...	...	300

From even casual inspection it is apparent that Zalvidea did not see the complete population of any one of these villages and that many of the inhabitants had been removed by previous expeditions or were in hiding. The village of Malapoa is small but presents no serious demographic discrepancies. The number of children was low, but as has been pointed out in a previous discussion Zalvidea was counting as men or women everyone over the age of seven years. The children, calculated according to his method, amounted to 13.5 per cent of the total.

At Buenavista he found only 36 men to 144 women, an incredible situation unless most of the men had fled or had been killed. Under normal conditions the number of men should at least approximately equal that of the women. Therefore in order to reconstruct the probable population we are forced to assume the presence of at least 144 men. This gives a total of 326 persons of which 8.6 per cent would have been children. For the other two villages only the number of men is given, no doubt the men actually seen. Indeed at Yaguelmane Zalvidea "counted" the 92 men he specifies. Significantly, however, he counted men "from 7 to 40 years" and infers that the village had a population of 300. If for Yaguelmane we allow 10 per cent of children seven years old or younger the adults would number 270. If the sex ratio were near unity, then, with 92 men 40 years or younger, there must have been 47 men over that age and 135 women of all ages. If the same ratios are applied to Sisipistu with 55 men from 7 to 40 years of age, the population would be 180. This figure is quite consistent with the number of houses, 28, for the number of persons per house would then be 6.43. The four villages (Malapoa, Buenavista, Yaguelame, and Sisipistu) consequently must have had populations of 59, 326, 300, and 180 respectively. The average of the four is 191 persons.

[129] Since there are no other historical data pertaining to the lake region, it is necessary to utilize the village lists of Kroeber (1925) and Latta (1949). These investigators, through their informants, have located 3 villages

*761 way to the Colorado and Garcés found at least one deserting soldier living with the Indians. It is quite possible that decline of population had already begun as early as 1776.

After traveling 4-1/2 leagues Garcés found another rancheria (no. 5), at which he spent the night of May 2-3. This must have been somewhere near the hamlet of Woody at the southern boundary of T25S, R29E. On May 3 he moved another 2-1/2 leagues, still north, to reach the White River near or slightly to the west of the village of White River in T24S, R29E. Here he camped at a rancheria (no. 6) of 150 souls. On May 4, having reached his farthest point north, he visited another rancheria (no. 7) half a league east. At rancheria no. 6 he found an Indian who was a fugitive from the coast and also heard that two Spanish soldiers had been killed for [179] molesting Indian women. The contact with the whites was therefore clearly established. Stephen Powers (1877), who was in the San Joaquin Valley in the decade of 1850, says that "on White River there are no Indians, neither have there been any for many years." Here again is an indication of depopulation at a very early date.

On May 5 Garcés started to retrace his steps southward, reaching at 2-1/2 leagues the previous rancheria (i.e., no. 5). From here he must have diverged somewhat eastward of his northbound trail for at 2 leagues he saw another rancheria (no. 8) "to the east" which he had not seen on the way up. This probably was toward the eastern side of T26S, R20E. Tnen, he says, he went southeast 3 leagues to Poso Creek. This would put him on Poso Creek near the center of township T27S, R30E, a point about 9 miles airline above his place of crossing on May 2. Here he found a rancheria (no. 9), the chief of which told him about another rancheria (no. 10) to the east where a Spanish renegade lived with an Indian wife. The following day, May 6, he started out again south or southwest and got lost in the hills of upper Poso Creek. In these hills between Poso Creek and the Kern River he found another rancheria (no. 11) of "more than 100 souls." This was probably in the northern part of township T28S, R30E. Finally on May 7 he reached the Kern 1 league above his first crossing. His first crossing had been accomplished 2 or 3 miles below the mouth of the canyon hence he must have come out very close to the mouth. He then went downstream to the rancheria where he had crossed (no. 1) but he did not stop here. He continued down the river for 2 leagues to a rancheria he had not seen before (no. 12) and which had "some 150 souls."

Two leagues downstream from rancheria no. 1, or about 3 leagues below the mouth of the canyon would have put him at a point roughly 5 to 6 miles east-northeast of Bakersfield, not at the site of the city, as is supposed by Coues (1900, p. 299). On May 8 he went 3 leagues south-southwest, then turned and traveled 6 leagues southeast and east to the Tehachapi. These distances and directions plotted on the map place him just at the mouth of Tejon Creek.

To summarize the rancherias mentioned: Garcés saw four villages on the Kern in territory of the Paleuyami or [361] Yauelmani (nos. 1, 2, 3, 12), six on Poso Creek or minor watercourses to the north thereof (nos. 4, 5, 8, 9, 10, 11), all Paleuyami, and two on White River (nos. 6, 7) in the territory of the Kumachisi.

The size of these villages has been subject to some debate. Garcés cites two with 150 persons and one with 100, but Gifford and Schenck think that he specifies population only for the largest places. The other nine would therefore be smaller. These authors, however, put the average village size at about 60 (750 people in 12 villages).

*161 and 17 leagues north-northeast of San Jose. The rancheria of this name, he states, is now Christian, at San Francisco and San Jose. The mission books show a total of 105 baptisms at the two establishments.

It is reasonably plain that the Aguastos and the Chupunes occupied more or less the same territory—along the south shore of the eastern end of Carquinez Strait and the western end of Suisun Bay. The diaries and the baptism records both indicate that the original inhabitants were the Aguastos, who were missionized and removed. Their place seems to have been taken by another group of natives known as the Chupunes, who also were gathered into the fold at some period between the visits of Abella and Duran. Subsequent to the 1817 diary of Duran there is no further mention of this tribe. With respect to population we have only the record showing 105 baptisms. Since the conversion seems to have been quite complete, we may set the aboriginal value at no more than 150.

Let us now consider the Ompines. This group is placed by Schenck on the north bank of the Sacramento River at and above the junction of the river and Suisun Bay. Schenck also (p. 137) discusses the possibility that the Ompines and Julpunes composed a single group. In spite of an assumed similarity in names the Spanish [114] accounts are unequivocally explicit to the effect that there were two groups, not one, hence Schenck's hypothesis may be disregarded. With respect to location the later Spanish accounts bear out Schenck's contention that the tribe was situated north of the river.

In his entry for May 14, 1817, Duran says that his expedition stopped at the mouth of the San Joaquin River, whereas another boat (that of Argüello) stopped opposite "en tierra de Ompines." The next day they all went up the Sacramento River to the "remate de las lomas de los Ompines." Meanwhile Argüello, in his entry for May 15, says that they went along the north shore and stopped "donde termina la tierra de los Ompines." This puts the eastern edge of the Ompines at the east side of the Montezuma Hills in T3N, R2E, approximately as shown by Schenck. Altimira describes an unauthorized raid by Fr. Duran on the tribes north of Suisun Bay, among them ". . . otra rancheria aislada llamada los Ompines" (Altimira, MS, 1823).

A few of the earlier documents, on the other hand, contain statements which raise the possibility that the Ompines were not always confined exclusively to the north shore. In his diary of 1811 Abella describes how, on October 17, his party entered a big bay (Suisun Bay) and, after 5 leagues, following along the south shore, began to find estuaries and numerous islands covered with tules. They continued into the west channel of the San Joaquin and stopped at an island on which large trees were growing. At this point, somewhere near ● [361] Antioch, there was a "pescadero" of the Ompines. It is evident, therefore, that in 1811 the Ompines had at [226] least temporary fishing spots on the south side of the estuary, in an area usually ascribed to the Julpunes or Tarquines.

[795] The San Jose baptism book shows the conversion of 106 Ompines. Those from San Rafael and Solano do not mention the tribe. The fact that a tribe situated north of Suisun Bay does not appear in the records of either of these missions is noteworthy, since during the 1820's and 1830's the north-bay groups were brought to them in large numbers, and since we know from Altimira's comment on Duran's raid that the Ompines were still in existence in 1823. Furthermore, the Ompines must have constituted more than a single small village, for

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*161 The distances on both trips are very consistent and the village locations check closely with those shown on Schenck's map, except that only the Taualames should be placed on the east bank of the river. Viader is very explicit in saying that all the others were on the west bank.

Cuyens, Mayem, and Bozenats are beyond doubt villages, since each was named after its chief, or captain. The Tationes and Apaglamnes are given in the plural: "los indios Apelamenes y Tatives." They may well have possessed more than one rancheria each, as is supposed by Schenck. Schenck thinks that Cuyens and Mayem were transient parties from Kroeber's Miwok villages, Chuyumkatat and Mayemam, which were on the Cosumnes. Aside from the possible similarity in names there is not the slighest evidence in Viader's diaries to support such a theory. Viader definitely specifies rancherias, and the missionaries of that period were able to distinguish rancherias from fishing parties.

From the record we have in this area five villages certain and at least one other probable. For six villages of average size (there is no indication that they were smaller) the population would be assumed as 300 persons each, or 1,800 in all.

The mission records show for baptisms:

Tribe or Village	Dates of Conversion	Number of Baptisms
Cuyens	1811-1813	88
Mayemes	1813-1823	91
Apaglamnes	1818-1824	48
Tationes	1805-1811	243

The total is 470. These were San Joaquin River natives, not from the delta and marsh region. On the other hand they were less remote from Spanish influence and attack than the tribes which extended up the lateral streams. Hence the proportion of baptisms was probably intermediate between the value of 50 per cent assumed for the very exposed bay and delta people and that of 10 per cent ascribed to the Cosumnes. An estimate of 25 per cent would be reasonable, yielding a population value of 1,800. The two methods of calculation coincide, and the result, 1,800 inhabitants, may be allowed for the area.

For the lower Stanislaus and Tuolumne rivers the only tribes mentioned in the Spanish documents are the Tauhalames (or Taulamnes) on the Tuolumne and the Lakisamne (or Lakisumne or Laquisemne) on the Stanislaus. Kroeber (1925, p. 485) writes: "the Tawalimni, presumably on Tuolumne River . . . the Lakisamni . . . on the Stanislaus . . . ." Schenck says (p. 141):

> ●[361] The villages of Taulamne and Taualames are both definitely placed, the former on an inaccessible rock on the Stanislaus river in the foothills, the latter at the ford of the San Joaquin just below the mouth of the Tuolumne river . . . . This seems to establish the region between the lower Tuolumne and Stanislaus rivers as Taulamne territory. Merriam agrees in assigning the same region to the Tuolumne.

Schenck's only reference to the Lakisamne is on the same page: "The Leuchas might possibly be identified with Kroeber's Lakisamni (Yokuts) on the Stanislaus river." But the mission records and all other documents clearly distinguish between the two groups, rendering Schenck's hypothesis entirely untenable.

Some of the confusion may derive from the account of

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*161 Muñoz. In his diary of the Moraga expedition he tells how, on October 1, 1806, the party left the Merced River and proceeded northwest for 7 to 8 leagues, reaching finally a river which they called the Dolores (i.e., the Tuolumne, probably near Modesto). There were no Indians, but signs of "varias rancherias," the inhabitants having all absconded. On October 2 they went northwest again and at 4 leagues, in the middle of a very large oak park, they came upon another river, which they called the Guadelupe. This could only have been the Stanislaus, probably somewhere east of Ripon. On the next day, October 3, they went up this river, and at the end of 6 leagues reached a rancheria called Taulamne. It was situated in "unos empinados voladeros e inacesibles por unas encrespadas rocas." They could not get at the Indians but estimated the population as 200, on the basis of the people they could discern. This village, be it noted, was situated among "steep cliffs, ● [361] inaccessible because of certain rough rocks"—not on an inaccessible rock in the river. This spot, judging by both the distances and the description, was along the limestone bluffs which steeply border the south bank of the Stanislaus for several miles opposite Knights Ferry. The Indians said that there were six other rancherias upstream. From this point the expedition moved the next day again northwest toward the Calaveras River. We gather little concerning tribal names from Moraga's account but we learn that there was a considerable population along the Stanislaus which demonstrated sharp defiance to the Spanish invaders.

*161 648 In the later documents there is little if any reference to the Taulamnes but much discussion of the Lakisamni. There are repeated allusions to this group as being very hostile, bad raiders, and the object of several military campaigns, particularly those against the great Indian rebel chief, Estanislao. The fighting was undoubtedly on the Stanislaus River and the Indian protagonists were frequently allied with the Cosumnes and Mokelumnes. From the context of the documents they would seem to have been as numerous, or at least as bellicose, as either of these two tribes.

José Sanchez in 1826 refers to his bitter battle with Estanislao, which took place on the "rio de los Laquisimes" (MS, 1826). Joaquin Piña describes a military expedition under Guadelupe Vallejo in 1829 (MS, 1829). The objective was two "rancherias," one of the Laquisimes and the other of the Tagualames, on the "Rio de los Laquisimes," or the "Rio Pescadero." The campaign was inconclusive since nearly all of the Indians escaped.

*161 [101] From the citations above it appears probable that the Taulamnes and the Lakisamne were two distinct tribal groups and that their home was on both the Tuolumne and Stanislaus rivers. It is also likely that in the turmoil and confusion of the period between 1800 and 1830 the original spacing and distribution of the tribes became irreparably lost and that the surviving fragments of both amalgamated and reconstituted themselves with reference to their Spanish enemies rather than with reference to their aboriginal social organization. Hence they may have come to be concentrated more on the Stanislaus than on the Tuolumne.

The only direct population estimate we have for them is that of Muñoz, who claimed 200 persons for the village of Taulamne, among the cliffs. Assuming that 50 persons were not seen, the village would have had 250 inhabitants, which is more or less standard for the general area, according to Moraga's account. If the other six villages had an equal population, the total would have been 1,500. But this estimate does not include the